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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Sharing Benefits from
Tourism in
Mozambique: Case
studies from Inhambane
and Maputo Provinces

Thesis Presented in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for The Degree of Master of
Science In the Department of Environmental
and Geographical Sciences

Mayra P.A. Pereira

2011

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ABSTRACT

Mayra Pereira

Tourism and Benefit sharing in Mozambique

Tourism is one of the mainstays of the Mozambican economy but has potentially negative impacts on local communities. This study assessed the extent to which coastal communities in Mozambique are benefitting, or losing, from various tourism initiatives. Data was collected using qualitative and quantitative methods in three case study sites: two cases in Inhambane province (Tofo and Barra) and one in Maputo province (Gala), all representing marginalized coastal communities engaged in tourism. Methods included the administration of 244 household questionnaires, 14 focus group discussions and 33 key informant interviews.

The study aimed to enhance understanding about specific tourism models that intended to enhance benefits to local communities through particular benefit-sharing strategies. These included a community and Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) partnership, which initiated a community-owned lodge and other livelihood projects; a private sector tourism initiative that incorporated social responsibility objectives; and a government-driven levy for those communities living adjacent to a national park. These benefit sharing strategies were initiated in Gala and Barra, with the objective of enhancing monetary and non-monetary benefits to the local community. The conventional mass tourism model, which does not necessarily consider local people's needs and interests, was explored in Tofo, and this case study was chosen to highlight the impact of tourism in the absence of any benefit-sharing strategies.

The findings of this study suggest that the contribution of tourism to the livelihoods of local communities is greater in the areas where the benefit-sharing strategies are being developed. Three key factors that are fundamental for enhancing the distribution of benefits to local communities include the role of institutions in tourism development, consideration of both the monetary and non-monetary benefits and losses to coastal communities of tourism, and recognising the need to understand and respond to the impacts of interventions in one sector on other sectors (such as between fisheries and tourism). Three models of benefit sharing were explored, involving NGOs, the private sector and the State. The NGO-community

model was characterized by strong local participation and a strong social responsibility in terms of delivering benefits to the local community, however benefit sharing was constrained by a lack of experience and capacity and lack of financial sustainability. In the private sector model, a strategy was developed whereby political interference and corruption was avoided, ensuring that benefits flow directly to the local communities. However, there was a lack of representative and robust institutions and a risk of elite capture of benefits and centralised decision-making. The government model was characterised by significant cash benefits to the local community (enabled by an effective redistributive law), trust between stakeholders and strong local participation, however this model also had weak institutions, an incapacitated state, and an absence of a clear national policy and legal framework for benefit sharing.

This study has contributed to the tourism knowledge base by investigating impacts of tourism on local communities as well as the different strategies to enhance benefits. Although many studies have been undertaken in order to understand the economic impacts of tourism and the potential of this industry to alleviate poverty and to promote local development, this dissertation highlights the need for a more holistic and complex approach to development in order to promote sustainable coastal livelihoods.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALMA	Associação para Limpar o Meio Ambiente (Association for Cleaning and Environment)
AMAR	Associação Nacional de Mergulho (National Diving Association)
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CBET	Community-Based Ecotourism
CCP	Conselho Comunitário de Pesca (Fisheries Community Council)
DFID	Department for International Development
DUAT	Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra (Right to use the land)
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique)
FTTSA	Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographical Information Systems
MER	Maputo Elephant Reserve
MITUR	Ministério do Turismo (Ministry of Tourism)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Products
OJM	Organization of Mozambican Youth
OMM	Organization of Mozambican Women
PARPA	Action Plan for Absolute Poverty Reduction
PPT	Pro-poor Tourism
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RENAMO	Resistance Movement of Mozambique
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SD	Sustainable Development
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programs
SNV	Netherlands Development Organization
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WIO	Western Indian Ocean
WIOMSA	Western Indian Ocean Marine Science Association
WTO	World Tourism Organization

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Coastal resources are vital for many local communities and indigenous people as they provide economic, biological and cultural benefits (UNEP, 2007). Coastal communities around the world, including those in the Western Indian Ocean (WIO) region, have the potential to translate their coastal resources into economic, social and environmental opportunities that may benefit them and the resource. One way to enhance these benefits is through tourism (Scheyvens, 2002; Simpson, 2009).

Tourism has increasingly become a dominant industry in many societies and is internationally recognized as an important development vehicle for the growth of a country's economy (Singh, 1998, Neto, 2002). Governments, especially in developing countries, have adopted tourism as an integral part of their economic growth and development strategies as it has the ability to generate employment, improve infrastructure inside the community and serves as a source of scarce financial resources, foreign exchange earnings and technical assistance (Hundt, 1996; Sinclair, 1998; Dieke, 2003). In particular, tourism has shown growth in countries that are characterized by high levels of poverty. Developing countries are increasingly attracting tourists due to an abundance of pristine tourism assets, such as unique cultural and environmental experiences (Scheyvens, 2007).

The Southern African Development Community (SADC), an alliance of 15 countries in Southern Africa, is characterized by an extraordinary range of resources and attractions that include sunny and warm weather, distinctive wildlife, tropical forests, sandy beaches and exotic cultures (Ghimire, 2001). The diversity of these natural resources and cultures gives these countries the ideal characteristics to become key players in the international tourism industry. In fact, the pace of growth of tourism in SADC countries is already high by international standards (Cleverdon, 2002). In 2006, the highest number of visitors to the region was attributed to Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia (Manasoe, 2009).

However, there are also challenges in the tourism sector. Some of these challenges include the insufficient/lack of revenue from governments and other entities, inequitable distribution of benefits and the negative social and cultural impacts on local communities (Din, 1993; Hitchcock et al., 1993 cited by Ying and Zhou, 2007). This is especially the case in some sub-Saharan countries, often characterized by accentuated poverty, lack of sanitation and civil wars. Governments are vulnerable to the dangers of casual ad-hoc tourism developments. These developments give little or no consideration to the economic, social and cultural wellbeing of local communities, the preservation of the natural environment and/or the inclusion of host communities in decision-making (Britton, 1991; Drake, 1991; Evans and Ibery, 1989; Getz, 1983; Long, Perdue, and Allen, 1990; Marsden, 1992; Prentice, 1993 cited by Ying and Zhou, 2007). Thus, in the context of tourism development, local communities should be given the right to manage resources and accrue the significant benefits resulting from their use and management (Ribot, 1999). However, the challenges faced by rural communities tend to lead to the acceptance of tourism proposals that may promise economic benefits, but in reality have little or no regard for the negative short- or long-term impacts (Kinsley, 2000). The adverse impact of mass tourism on local communities has received critical attention over the years, in particular, the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts such as high leakages or flow of revenues out of destination countries and the capture of monetary and non-monetary benefits by local and metropolitan elites (Scheyvens, 2002). In order to counteract these negative impacts, there has been a shift to a new kind of tourism approach that places emphasis on the fair and equitable distribution of benefits to local communities (Scheyvens, 2002).

Mass tourism in developing countries places the ecosystems and local livelihoods of coastal communities at risk. The concept of “sustainable tourism development”, declared in the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro in 1992, is embedded in the principle of “sustainable development”. Some argue that all tourism should be sustainable tourism (Cater and Lowman, 1994; Dowling, 1995). In terms of the concept of sustainable development, sustainable tourism development is defined as a concept that meets the needs of present visitors and host communities while protecting and augmenting opportunities for the future. Also, it is argued that the economic, socio-cultural and aesthetic needs of local communities can be fulfilled while at the same time “cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems” are maintained (WTO, 2001 cited by Liu, 2003). Tourism has become an important part of many communities’ livelihoods, resulting in the need for the

tourism industry to be managed in a sustainable manner, with more emphasis on issues of sustainability, social equity and environmental responsibility (Richards and Hall, 2002).

For this reason, the development of tourism was marked by a shift from conventional mass tourism to alternative forms of tourism and has focused on the contribution of tourism to community development, conservation of the environment and ultimately as a poverty alleviation strategy. This new focus of the tourism industry gave rise to new tourism approaches such as eco-tourism and community-based tourism (Goodwin and Santili, 2009). These two approaches intended to change the way the tourism industry was used as a development strategy. However, it has been argued that they do not influence change or transform the prevailing conventional mass tourism approach (Redman, 1999). In order to address these challenges, the pro-poor tourism approach emerged with a focus on tourist destinations in the South as well as to promote good practices in areas with widespread poverty (Ashley et al., 2001). Pro-poor tourism has been defined as an approach that specifically considers the concerns and needs of the poor. By incorporating a poverty perspective, pro-poor tourism aims at unlocking opportunities for the poor, enhancing economic and other livelihood benefits, and promoting engagement in decision-making (Ashley et al., 2001).

1.2 Tourism in Mozambique

Mozambique was a popular destination for tourists before 1975 as visitors from South Africa and surrounding landlocked countries were drawn to the beach resorts (King, 2007). However, there was a major decline in tourism between 1976 and the mid-1990s due to civil war. According to King (2007), in 1972 approximately 292 000 people visited Mozambique as opposed to the 1980s when these numbers fell to approximately 1 000 visitors per year. By 2000, tourism was again the fastest growing sector of the economy (Rylance, 2008). The recovery from the civil war and the incorporation of tourism into the Government agenda promoted tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation and economic development. These policies and laws incorporated principles of conservation and promised benefits to local communities. Mozambique still has a high potential for tourism development and the government has promoted the beaches, coral reefs, marine life, conservation areas, mountains and culture as major tourist attractions (Strategic Plan for the Development of Tourism in Mozambique, 2004). In 2005, the results of this promotion led to a 37% increase in growth in the industry,

the highest recorded globally for that year, which accounted for nearly 2% of Mozambique's GDP (Noticias Lusofonas, 2006 cited by Johnstone, 2011).

However, Mozambique has been facing challenges associated with tourism. Some of these challenges include a lack of access to coastal land and marine resources by local communities, illegal camping sites, racism, and reluctance by tourism establishments to communicate with local communities and the overuse of foreign currency (Nhantumbo, 2009).

The tourism sector is considered a key tool to promote economic growth and alleviate poverty in both developed and underdeveloped countries (Ashley et al., 2001). Although the government of Mozambique has recognized tourism as a vehicle for the promotion of economic development (Rylance, 2008), an increased number of visitors also results in an increased potential for negative impacts to occur (Ashton and Ashton, 1993). The development of tourism is complex and dynamic, particularly in countries facing poor socio-economic and political conditions (Rylance, 2008). Although studies have been done on the positive and negative impacts of tourism and on the links between tourism and poverty alleviation around the world (Chok et al., 2007; Hall, 2007; Scheyvens, 2007; Schilchner, 2007; Zhao and Ritchie, 2007), there is limited understanding of these impacts on local communities in Mozambique. The focus of tourism in Mozambique has been on the macro-economic interests of the state and its potential to bring economic growth (Rylance, 2008), with little knowledge of the implications of such a tourism approach on affected communities. In Mozambique, the conventional mass tourism model has been adopted and this model is characterized by the involvement of foreign ownership, with little or no regard in terms of benefiting local communities (Rylance, 2008). Also, the most dominant tourism product in Mozambique is the sun-sea-sand package. Furthermore, little research has been conducted on specific strategies that are being implemented by different actors (NGOs, private sector, government) to enhance benefits to coastal communities.

Thus, there is a need to explore alternative approaches to conventional mass tourism in Mozambique, in order to move towards the development of tourism that promotes benefits and provides opportunities for local communities to access and control their local resources, both in the present and the future.

1.3 Coastal tourism and links to the fisheries sector in Mozambique

The sustainable use of natural resources has significant links to the wellbeing of coastal communities and the alleviation of poverty. Natural resources are “assets that some of the poor have, even if they have no financial resources” (Ashley et al., 2001: 2). Tourism is the key sector for this study but there are important intersectoral linkages between the tourism sector and the fisheries sector, particularly in terms of access and use of marine resources by coastal communities. The growing population along the coast has created increased competition and conflicts over the allocation as well as the use of coastal and marine resources. For this reason, the linkages with regard to the benefits and losses between the tourism sector and the fisheries sector will be analyzed.

Fishing is one of the most important coastal activities for local communities as it is an important source of nutrition and income and employment for many coastal dwellers (Masalu, 2000). Marine and coastal resources are important features of both the tourism sector and the fisheries sector in Mozambique (Hoguane, 2005). While coral reefs are, for example, important for tourism-based activities such as snorkelling, diving, sports and recreational fishing, they are at the same time important for the fisheries sector due to the abundance of fish. In Mozambique, artisanal fishers depend on coral reefs for both survival and commercial activities that include selling of coral products and key reef species. Thus, this often leads to conflicts over the use of coastal and marine resources, which also include ownership and access to land. The dependency of tourism and fisheries on the same marine habitat can create losses due to competition for coastal land, conflicts in marine use, and conflict over incompatible management objectives (Masalu, 2000; Mahon, 2002). While fishers may also benefit from the tourism industry through the supply of fish and seafood to tourism markets, for example, these benefits can only be enhanced if other losses are appropriately addressed.

This study formed part of a larger project funded by the Western Indian Ocean Marine Science Association (WIOMSA). The WIOMSA project title is “Analysis of Benefits from Coastal Resources and Mechanisms for Equitable Benefit sharing in Selected WIO Countries”. The primary goal of this research project was to contribute towards poverty reduction and sustainable resource use and management by promoting the application of the principle of access and equitable sharing of benefits derived from marine and coastal

resources generally, and more specifically, in the WIO region. This study contributed to the overall project by focusing on the country of Mozambique, through the examination of coastal tourism in three case study sites.

1.4 Key concepts

Sharing of benefits has been defined as the “action of giving a portion of advantages/profits derived from the use of non-human resources or traditional knowledge to the resource providers, in order to achieve justice in exchange” (Schroeder, 2007:207). Although this definition refers specifically to genetic resources, the concept emphasizes that the rightful owners of the resources used should be compensated. The Benefit sharing strategies are the kinds of ‘mechanisms’ that are in place that influence the way that stakeholders obtain, control and maintain access to natural resources as well as the way the benefits are redistributed to local communities (Wynberg et al., 2010).

Figure 1.1 represents the conceptual framework designed for this study. This study has been undertaken within the broader WIOMSA project. The tourism models are the different strategies used to develop tourism initiatives through the development of partnerships with the local communities. On the left side of the framework, there are three tourism models, represented in two case studies. The three models on the left side of the framework represent partnerships where different actors engage closely with the local community to identify and develop strategies to enhance benefits to the local community. This contrasts with the right side of the framework, which is the dominant model in Mozambique and is characterized by a conventional mass tourism model that has no benefit-sharing strategies to enhance benefits to the local community. The comparison between the left side and the right side of the framework reveals the difference in the outcomes of tourism as a result of various Benefit sharing strategies being in place. In this study, these tourism models are set up by partnerships that have developed and have led to agreed upon strategies to be implemented. These strategies lead to different social, economic and ecological outcomes that can result in benefits and/or losses to the local communities.

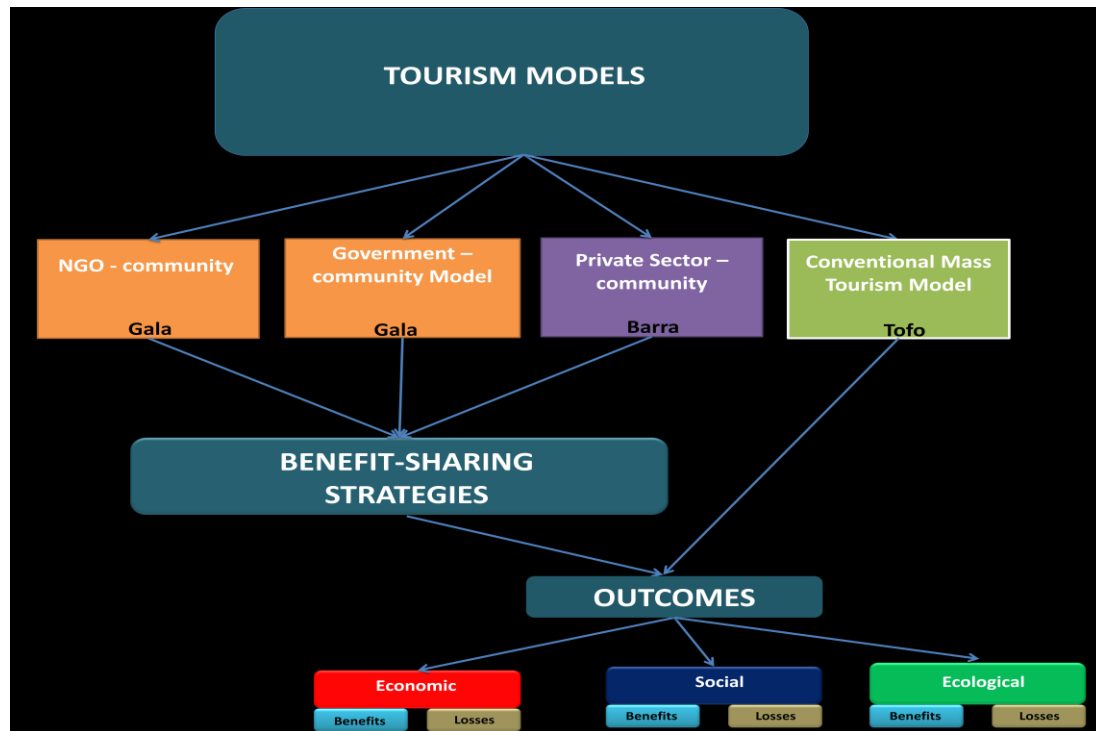


Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework for understanding of tourism models that enhance benefits in the tourism sector

1.5 Aim

The aim of this research was to examine how local communities benefit from tourism, the losses they incur from tourism and the strategies that enhance or inhibit the sharing of benefits, with particular focus on social, economic and environmental dimensions.

1.6 Objectives

The specific research objectives of this study were to:

- Identify the social, economic and environmental benefits and losses from tourism to local communities in three case study sites along the Mozambique coast;
- Identify the various stakeholders benefiting or losing from tourism activities;
- Identify and analyse Benefit sharing arrangements and mechanisms that are used to distribute the benefits from tourism;
- Understand the intersectoral linkages between the tourism and fisheries sectors as well as the benefits and incurred losses associated with these linkages;
- Determine the factors that enhance or hinder the sharing of benefits from tourism to local communities.

1.7 Case study sites

In order to undertake this research, three communities were identified in southern Mozambique. Two case study sites, Barra (Conguiana community) and Tofo (Josina Machel community), were identified in the Inhambane Province and one case study site, Gala (Gala community), was identified in the Maputo Province. Figure 1.2 depicts the three case study sites (see Appendix Five for additional maps).

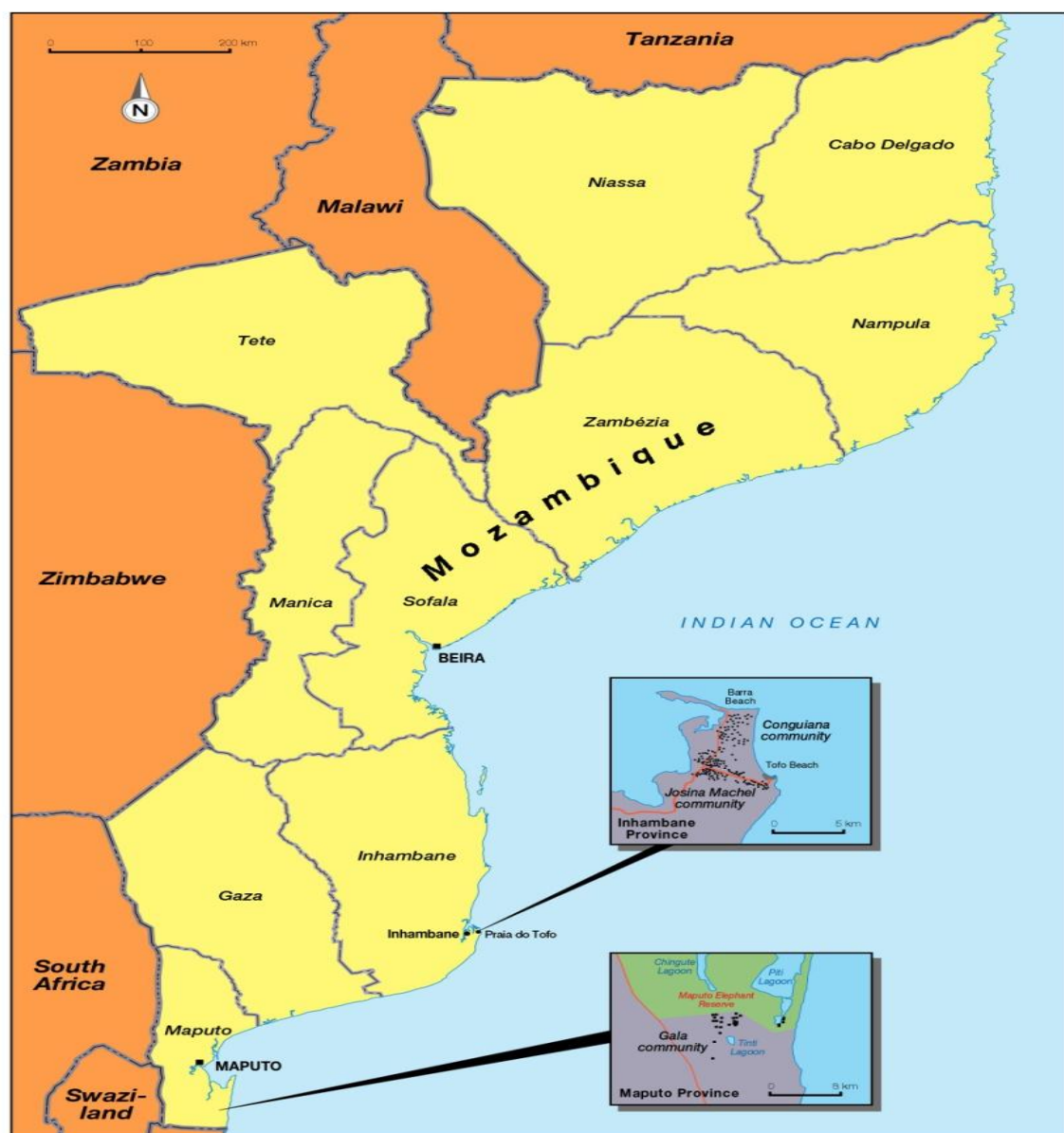


Figure 1.2 Map of Mozambique highlighting three case study sites

The criteria used for the selection of all but one case were (1) marginalized and/or poor communities living along the coast in Mozambique; (2) communities where both the tourism and the fisheries sectors are present; (3) communities where Benefit sharing strategies have been initiated and (4) a range of NGO, government and private led tourism interventions. In Mozambique, however, there are few examples of Benefit sharing mechanisms in the tourism sector due to the expansion of mass tourism, driven largely by external investors. While Gala and Barra were two case studies that had undertaken some strategies to enhance benefits, this was not the case in the Tofo case study. Although Tofo is characterized by a conventional mass tourism model, with no Benefit sharing strategies, it was still chosen in order to highlight the impact of tourism in such circumstances, particularly since this is the tourism model adopted in most coastal settlements in Mozambique (Kiambo, 2005). Further, Tofo's close proximity to Barra provided an interesting comparison.

1.8 Structure of thesis

This thesis comprises eight chapters. This chapter presents an overview of the thesis. It provides the study's setting and context, research purpose, aims and objectives, identifies key concepts and outlines the case study sites. Chapter Two presents the literature review, which begins with the history and evolution of the Benefit sharing concept in the tourism sector. Alternative approaches to tourism that promote more sharing of benefits in communities are outlined, showing an evolution of thinking over time. Finally, the impact of tourism on coastal communities and coastal ecosystems are discussed in an international context, with a specific focus on social, environmental and economic dimensions. Chapter Three provides a detailed description of the methodology that was adopted for the study. Phases of data collection and data analysis are outlined, explained and discussed. Chapter Four provides an overview of aspects of the tourism sector in Mozambique. It highlights the broader contextual factors that have influenced the development of tourism as well as the relevant institutional and legal framework. The chapter also provides insight into the development of tourism in the case study provinces of Inhambane and Maputo. Chapter Five presents the findings of the research and presents the qualitative and quantitative data gathered, for the Josina Machel and Conguiana case studies in Inhambane Province. Chapter Six presents the findings for the Gala community in Maputo Province and Chapter Seven provide an analysis of the findings from all the case studies. Chapter Eight is the concluding chapter of the thesis

and discusses the key findings of the research that could contribute to enhancing Benefit sharing in the tourism sector in Mozambique.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Tourism and travelling have been around since the beginning of time. It has been hypothesized that travel was the norm for much of human history, when in the form of nomads; primitive humans were walking great distances in search of food and clothing, essential for their survival (Chatwin, 1988 cited by Lew et al., 2004). Tourism is defined as an economic or social phenomenon that serves as an engine of economic development as well as a social force (Davidson, 1998). Tourism involves travelling and can be defined as an activity engaged in by people who are away for a short period of time and for a wide range of leisure, business and any other reasons that do not include remuneration from the visited areas or a temporary or permanent change of residence (WTO, 1994 cited by Lew et al., 2004).

There are references to tourism in the ancient times of Egyptian dynasties (Coltman, 1989) as well as the Greek and Roman empires (Swarbrooke and Horner, 1999). In 1841, Thomas Cook, the father of the tourist trade, organized a rail trip for 500 people in the United Kingdom at a charge of a shilling per person which included food and tickets. Through the lens of the Western world, tourism became a global phenomenon where people undertook trans-oceanic travel (Lew et al., 2004) and in the 1950s the first commercially viable jet aircraft was developed. At this time, tourism was expensive and limited to a small number of destinations. However, industrialization in Europe created a wealthy middle-class that had a significant amount of free time (Hardy et al., 2002). In the second half of the 1900s, tourism emerged as a popular activity, with prices of airline tickets becoming affordable and number of passengers growing 5 to 6 % annually (Holden, 2005). Throughout the course of history, tourism has grown significantly and it has taken a diversity of forms in response to a variety of incentives such trade, education, leisure, religious beliefs, war, romantic getaways, business, self-discovery, health as well as other equally forceful motivations (Theobald, 2005). The rapid growth and expansion of the tourism industry is a focus of governments all over the world as new employment opportunities and earning of foreign money leads to economic and social benefits (Theobald, 2005). During the 1950s, there were approximately 25 million tourists worldwide who generated approximately eight billion American dollars

(Eagles and Bowman, 2005). In 2000, there were 698 million tourists and the tourism industry is expected to reach 1.6 billion tourists by 2020 (Thomas et al., 2003). Tourism has developed significantly in both social and economic magnitude (Theobald, 2005) as one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world (Honey, 2008).

This chapter focuses on the theories relating to tourism and Benefit sharing, through three key approaches: ecotourism, community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism. These have emerged from a shift of the tourism sector to more of a community focus. Through tourism, communities have the potential to be affected in a positive way (Redman, 2009). The concept of fair and equitable sharing of benefit emerged from the utilization of genetic resources (UNEP, 2003) and has over the years developed into different areas such as tourism, forestry, fishing and mining. Fair and equitable Benefit sharing has been defined as “something that should result from the totality of legal, economic, political and other factors which decide, in combination, how benefits are divided” (Byström *et al*, 1999:17). In this study, tourism will be evaluated in the context of fair and equitable distribution of benefits. Additionally, links between the tourism and fisheries sector were analyzed in order to understand how benefits (and losses) are distributed.

2.2 Tourism concepts, approaches and tools

Tourism has seen a marked shift from mass tourism to alternative and sustainable forms that aim to encompass activities centred on providing more opportunities and benefits to local communities (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). According to Shah and Gupta (2000:39), “mass tourism especially that associated with luxury hotels and resorts, does not always provide the best returns to local people and may have considerable negative impacts”. Various forms of tourism started to emerge as an antithesis to conventional types of tourism that have created negative impacts on local communities such as economic, social and ecological degradation, unequal distribution of benefits abuse of political power from tourism development and loss of cultural identity and dignity (Mowforth and Munt, 1998, Newsome et al., 2005). These approaches provided a diverse scope of alternatives, such as ecotourism, community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism, wildlife tourism, nature tourism, volunteer tourism, adventure tourism, low-impact tourism, ethical tourism, sustainable and responsible tourism and green tourism (Honey, 1999, Newsome et al., 2005) and their aim was to ensure that the needs of

present and future generations were not compromised (Hunter and Green, 1995). Table 2.1 describes the timeline, focus and critique of three tourism approaches that encapsulate the key change in perspective over time. These are ecotourism, community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism.

Table 2.1 The timeline, focus and critique of three tourism approaches

Timeline/ Approach	Focus	References	Critique	References
1980s				
Ecotourism	Main cited themes are reference to where ecotourism occurs (natural areas), conservation, culture, education and benefits to locals. Although focuses on benefiting community, main concern is the environment	Cater, 2006; Diamantis, 1999; Fennell, 2002; Scheyvens, 2002; Stronza and Gordillo, 2008.	Fails to deliver its promised regarding the generation of economic, social and cultural benefits to local communities as well as enhancing livelihoods. Motivating force is the demand from the tourism industry.	Fennell and Downing, 2003; Honey, 1999; Scheyvens, 2002; Wall, 1997;
Community-Based Tourism	Tourism is initiated or directed by local communities in order to further community interests and benefits i.e. participation and decision-making	Blackstock, 2005; Cater, 1985; Goodwin and Santili, 2009; Hall, 1996; Mearns, 2003; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Murphy, 1985; Simpson, 2008;	Does not adequately consider the full range of impacts of tourism on the livelihoods of the poor; niche type of tourism; Communities are presented as homogenous blocks; Also it focuses more on long-term success of tourism than resident empowerment; external constraints often ignored, budget is often poor quality;	Beeton, 2006; Blackstock, 2005; Honey, 1999; Simpson, 2008

Late 1990s				
Pro-poor Tourism	Increased net benefits for poor people; poverty alleviation in developing countries; can be applied to all forms of tourism	Ashley et al., 1999; Ashley et al., 2001; Ashley and Hayson, 2005; Goodwin, 2005; Harrison, 2008; Mitchell and Ashley, 2010;	Efforts to ensure benefits among the local poor are often concentrated on growth rather than equitable distribution; lack of evidence that outcome of pro-poor tourism is an improvement of the living conditions of the poor,	Harrison, 2008; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Scheyvens, 2002; Schilchner, 2007.

Regardless of the lack of focus, scope and identified principles of this range of sustainable tourism approaches, they have become a priority of many countries as a result of the recognition that unregulated mass tourism has detrimental effects on local communities (Spenceley, 2005). Medlik (1996) has suggested that there is no single definition for the variety of approaches that have evolved. However it is possible to refer to them as forms of tourism that intend to avoid negative impacts at the same time as enhancing the positive environmental, economic and socio-cultural effects on local communities. In the early 1970s, tourism academics and practitioners were searching for alternative approaches, but only in recent times have particular approaches for developing and implementing tourism in order to enhance benefits to local communities been adopted (Telfer, 2002). Some of these have gained significant support over the years and will be discussed in more detail below.

2.2.1 Ecotourism

Ecotourism emerged in the 1980s as a subset of alternative tourism and has since acquired considerable attention from governments, scholars, industries as well as communities (Blamey, 1997). Its remarkable expansion has its origins in the promise of generating foreign currency, incentives for wise conservation practices, increasing awareness of world environmental problems and the rising desire of affluent individuals to visit nature-based

environments for more individualistic and enriching experiences (Hawkins, 1994; Diamantis, 1999; Scheyvens, 2002).

Along with its rapid expansion, ecotourism has at least 85 definitions in circulation (Fennell, 2002) and there is no universally accepted definition. Neto (2003) suggests that this is because of the large range of ecotourism activities offered by many tourism operators (domestic and international) as well as the wide range of tourist demands. Ecotourism was first defined by Caballos-Lascurain (1987:14), cited by Diamantis (1999:96):

“Travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas”.

Ecotourism is however considered to be more than just tourism to natural areas (Goodwin, 1998). Nevertheless, the lack of a widely accepted definition and the extent to which ecotourism is different from other forms of tourism has met with critiques. Diamantis (1999) suggests that some academics show a degree of agreement with the definition, but there are a number of factors that should have been taken into account. He argues that there is a need to include the responsibility by ecotourism industries for conservation of the environment, economic impacts, and resource degradation as an outcome of ecotourism activities and visitor satisfaction (Diamantis, 1999). Sirakaya *et al.*, (1999) (cited by Vincent and Thompson 2002:153) suggest that ecotourism is characterized as a type of tourism and as a form of development that produces a minimal negative impact on the host environment; an evolving commitment to environmental protection and conservation of resources; a generation of financial resources to support and sustain ecological and socio-cultural resources; active involvement and cooperation of local residents as well as tourists in enhancing the environment; and economic and social benefits to the host community. These parameters outline the main characteristics of ecotourism. They can be used by practitioners before and during planning stages as they ensure that ecological, socio-cultural and economic dimensions are being considered.

Ecotourism has been recognized as a strategy to amalgamate conservation of natural resources and wildlife with human and economic development (Honey, 1999; Lindberg and

Enriquez, 1996). It has been acknowledged by conservation organizations, academics and practitioners that ecotourism will result in the conservation of natural resources that will lead to an enhancement of benefits for local communities. For this reason, benefits have been an important part of discussions about ecotourism by conservationists worldwide (Stronza and Gordillo, 2008). The conservation community claim that ecotourism creates incentives for local communities to protect the natural resources and attractions that tourists are drawn to (Ross and Wall, 1999). The extent to which the local communities are satisfied with these incentives will define the protection that they will provide to ensure that biodiversity and natural resources are not threatened (Stronza and Gordillo, 2008). Consequently, through the opportunities driven by conservationists, ecotourism has been widely fuelled by human resources, financial and technical support (Kiss, 2004).

Benefits from tourism to the local community from ecotourism can be economic, environmental and socio-cultural and have the potential to influence conservation (Weaver, 1998). Employment and cash income have been identified as the primary benefits (Gossling, 1999). Additionally, it has been argued that ecotourism income has the potential to minimize or eradicate the dependency of local communities on daily activities such as agriculture, logging, fishing and cattle ranch which exploit the natural resources (Langholz, 1999). Non-economic benefits include the concept of community empowerment (Scheyvens, 1999). Community empowerment includes new skills, the strengthening of local institutions and the community's ability to negotiate with outsiders, the broadening of contacts and support for community initiatives, and an increase in experience in the management of communities and projects (Stronza and Gordillo, 2008).

Weaver (1998) also suggests that these benefits are paralleled with losses from ecotourism activities. Ecotourism is on occasion manipulated as a "green" label to increase sale and interests, with the sole objective of making a profit, and without implementing any of its principles (Scheyvens, 2002; Wall, 1997). Additionally, it has the potential to contribute to environmental degradation by taking place in vulnerable and ecologically sensitive areas (Wall, 1997). It has also been noted that the amount of money that reaches the local community and conservation area is insignificant, despite the fact that ecotourists spend substantial amounts of money on ecotourism holidays (Wall, 1997).

In Costa Rica, the rapid expansion of hotels and other tourism establishments have posed threats to the pristine environment and social and cultural grounds of local communities. Moreno (2005) has argued that in Bay Island, Costa Rica, the rapid spread of foreign-owned establishments was one of the main causes of “rapid dilution” of the local culture. Moreno (2005) further explains that ecotourism is using up local resources without providing any reimbursement or benefit to the local community.

In practical terms, local community development through ecotourism can be challenging. Some theorists, such as Cater (2006) suggest that ecotourism fails to deliver on its promises regarding the generation of economic, social and environmental benefits to local communities, as well as enhancing their livelihoods. This is because the motivating force for ecotourism is not the needs of local communities but the demands of the tourism industry. Therefore, for ecotourism to be truly sustainable, it must include local communities in planning, managing and monitoring of ecotourism initiatives and partnerships (Honey, 1999).

Although ecotourism has been widely recognized as an important tool for economic development as well as for socio-cultural expansion, the primary focus has been on ecological sustainability and conservation. Ecotourism has been considered as a synonym for wildlife tourism, nature tourism and sun-sea-sand tourism (Fennell, 2008; Weaver, 2008). The recognition of local or poor communities as the centre of tourism research emerged with the development of two approaches, community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism.

2.2.2 Community-based tourism

Community-based tourism emerged during the 1980s as a consequence of the need to link the management of protected areas with those activities that are of extreme importance to local communities (Mearns, 2003). Recognition of local communities in the tourism sector was initially dealt with in the seminal work of Murphy, *Tourism: A community approach* (1985). Murphy argues that in order to rectify the weaknesses of tourism planning, emphasis needs to be put primarily on the host community. Experts should not be allowed to judge the perceptions and priorities as well as preferences of local communities (Murphy, 1985). In order to understand the social benefits of tourism, a community-oriented approach should be used to obtain information regarding the local image and views of tourism as a local resource (Murphy, 1985). The debates over the links between tourism, local communities,

development and local participation have developed considerably since Murphy's work in 1985, and have been enhanced within social and cultural studies (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Cater, 1995).

The community-based approach differs from ecotourism in that its primary focus is on the involvement of local communities in planning and maintaining tourism development with the intention of creating a more sustainable industry (Hall, 1996). Community-based tourism shows a progression from mass tourism as it involves ideas of participation and empowerment and emphasizes the importance of the socio-cultural dimension, rather than just economic or environmental impacts. Pearce (1992) argues that it delivers control of development to local people and consensus-based decision making as well as an equitable flow of benefits to all the stakeholders affected. Participation and involvement as well as ownership of resources by the local community are three important elements to sustainability, feasibility and success (Simpson, 2008). One of the successful examples of community-based tourism is Nambwa Campsite in Namibia which opened its doors in 2004. This is a campsite owned by the local community and is managed by a Conservancy that advises on the spending of the dividends, in particular, re-investing this revenue into social projects such as improvement of schools, the local clinic and transportation in the area. Goodwin and Santili (2009) have argued that Nambwa Campsite is a well-established community-based enterprise and is potentially sustainable. Additionally, the local community participated in all aspects of planning and development of businesses related to the tourism sector. Goodwin and Santili (2009) argue that Nambwa Campsite is a successful initiative under the mainstream definition of community-based tourism in that it is community owned and has some element of collective benefit.

Community-based tourism adopts similar principles to Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), promoting rural development and sustainable use of natural resources (Mbaiwa, 2004). Botswana is a country in Southern Africa where community based tourism is facilitated by CBNRM (Mbaiwa, 2007). Community-based Natural Resource Management programs have emerged from the inability of governments to protect natural resources outside protected areas and this has led to the devolution of management rights and responsibilities to rural communities (Woodhouse and Chimhowu, 2005). Thus, over the past two decades, rights to resources are being transferred back to local communities. It is argued that CBNRM encourages the participation of local communities in decision-making,

decentralizes benefits from natural resources, increases net benefits at local level and stimulates local communities' interest in conservation issues (Sebele, 2010). Once communities fully commit to participate and derive benefits from natural resources, they develop a sense of ownership over these resources, promoting more sustainable use (Mbaiwa, 2007). Similar to CBNRM, therefore, community-based tourism embraces the principles of sustainability while ensuring that local communities benefit through economic and social development.

In terms of community development, community-based tourism has the potential to be a holistic strategy that can influence a community's political, social, economic, environmental and cultural assets (Rest, 2002). Nevertheless, in practice, problems have been identified with this approach. Blackstock (2005) has pointed out that there are three main flaws.

Firstly, he asks whether local communities have the potential to develop and benefit from the tourism sector or whether community-based tourism is pulling local communities into the tourism industry only for employment and other small benefits. Secondly, a community-based tourism approach fails to deal with the structural inequalities inside the local communities that have the power to influence the decision-making process and assumes local communities are homogenous groups. Lastly, community-based tourism often disregards the constraints to local control of the tourism industry. For example, some of the structural constraints to local control that have been identified include inadequate policies (regional and government level), a lack of capacity of local people to run a tourism establishment and the disconnection from the private sector, which often results in a business lacking sustainability (Blackstock, 2005). Although community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism are two approaches that overlap, mainly because they both advocate for livelihoods-based approaches with emphasis on more equitable and involved participation of the local community (Scoones, 1998), pro-poor tourism has emerged as a result of critiques of community-based tourism.

2.2.3 Pro-poor tourism

Pro-poor tourism was first promoted in the late 1990s (Harrison, 2008). Ashley et al., (2001: 1) defined pro-poor tourism as:

“Tourism that generates net benefits for the poor. Pro-poor tourism is not a specific product or sector of tourism, but an overall approach. Rather than aiming to expand the size of sector, PPT [pro-poor tourism] strategies aim to unlock opportunities – for economic gain, other livelihood benefits, or engagement in decision making – for the poor.”

According to Ashley et al., (2001), pro-poor tourism considers the net benefits for the poor that are not only environmental or socio-cultural (as was the focus of ecotourism and community-based tourism). The term ‘net benefits to the local community’ recognizes that tourism projects can impact on communities positively and negatively in terms of social, cultural and environmental dimensions. When negative impacts of a tourism operation on a community are greater than the positive impacts, then it is not pro-poor.

Ecotourism uses conservation approaches to bring benefits to local communities through incentives for environmental protection or as a way to promote alternatives to local unsustainable activities (Ashley et al., 2001). For this reason, environmental concerns assume primary importance and creation of benefits to the local communities become the second priority. Thus, pro-poor tourism is different as it aims to increase opportunities for poor people to benefit and participate actively in tourism enterprises and initiatives and the environmental dimension should contribute to this purpose (Ashley et al., 1999). One of the main strengths of pro-poor tourism is that it does not promote tourism in isolation, but aims to enhance the distribution of tourism benefits in favour of poor people (Goodwin, 2005).

Participatory principles are the foundation of pro-poor tourism and a multi-dimensional approach is adopted, whereby the full range of benefits and losses on the livelihoods of the poor are considered (Ashley et al., 2001). Community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism are similar in that they aim to increase the participation and involvement of the local community, but pro-poor tourism does not only have a community focus as it also focuses on the mechanisms to unlock opportunities for communities and individuals who are poor (Ashley et al., 2001). For example, pro-poor tourism has the potential to expand employment and local wages by creating local jobs and offering training to local people (Pro-poor Tourism Partnership, 2005:b). Wage work is one way of bringing immediate benefits to the

poor but it is available to only a small number of individuals. It is recognized that not all the earnings spent in the tourism industry will reach the poor communities equally (DFID, 1999).

Pro-poor tourism is different from other forms of tourism as the strategies of pro-poor tourism have to be merged with the strategies of conventional tourism development that mainly aim at developing the tourism sector as a whole (Ashley et al., 1999). In other words, any tourism establishment or business has the power and potential to adapt their practices in pro-poor ways (Ashley and Haysom, 2005). There are a number of strategies that can orient tourism to a more pro-poor perspective, such as enhancing economic benefits, creating other livelihood benefits (i.e. social, environmental, and cultural) and providing less tangible benefits (such as participation). Spenceley et al., (2010) has identified one case study that highlights the diverse benefits generated from gorilla tourism to the poor in Rwanda. Benefits emanating from gorilla tourism include full-time and casual employment and income generated from cultural tours, transport and local guiding. Additionally, there are benefits emanating from indirect linkages with non-tourism sectors as well as donations towards local initiatives that were provided by tourists.

In theory, pro-poor tourism includes the poor at the centre of tourism, works with tourism businesses and aims to create a policy reform that is beneficial to everyone, but in particular to the poor (Ashley et al., 2001). On the other hand, in practice, there have been a number of challenges. Ashley et al., (2001) argue that critical issues affecting pro-poor tourism are access to the market (e.g. strength of economic elites and distance between poor people and tourism products), commercial sustainability, including the attractiveness of products and the location of the tourism, the policy framework in terms of land tenure and commitment from government, and lastly, implementation issues. Ashley and Haysom (2005) argue that critical changes to pro-poor activities are not likely to occur in the tourism business. However even marginal changes in an enormous sector like tourism may result in significant benefits to the poor at the local level.

Mowforth and Munt (2003) assert that it is not clear whether pro-poor tourism may be just an old approach with a new name with the intention of securing financial resources. Additionally, it has been argued that tourism is another purely economic activity that has concentrated itself far too much on pro-poor development rather than on equity (Scheyvens, 2002). In other words, the development of tourism is often associated with benefits being

generated to the local communities, particularly the ones living below the poverty line. Although benefits are generated, it has been argued that efforts have concentrated on growth rather than on the creating of equitable benefits. In this context, defining the type of growth that is best for poverty alleviation as well as identifying policies that will provide more equitable patterns of growth will ensure greater focus on equity. Schilcher (2007) proposed that economic growth and the equitable distribution of benefits, two factors required for poverty alleviation, may be complementary to each other. Thus, policies that are focused on distribution as well as increasing assets and incomes of poor communities can drive the development of the tourism sector (Schilcher, 2007).

2.3 Tourism programs with a focus on sharing benefits

Benefit sharing has been defined as the “action of giving a portion of advantages/profits derived from the use of non-human resources or traditional knowledge to the resource providers, in order to achieve justice in exchange” (Schroeder, 2007:207). Although this definition refers specifically to genetic resources, the concept emphasizes that the rightful owners of the resource should be compensated for its use. In relation to tourism, there is increased recognition of the need to benefit and empower local communities.

Table 2.2 Tourism tools to enhance benefits to local communities

Timeline	Tools	Focus	Critique
1999	Fair Trade tourism in South Africa (FTTSA)	Promote fair and ethical tourism industry and ensure that local communities benefit from tourism	Concerns about meaningful contribution to poverty elimination; certification of FTTSA highly niche products
2002	Sustainable livelihoods for eliminating Poverty (ST-EP)	Encourages tourism with activities that aim at alleviating poverty, delivering development and employment for poor people	Little empirical evidence of net benefits to local communities; does not address structural constraints in the national and global contexts

In order to enhance benefits to local communities, two tools have been developed namely Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa and the Sustainable Tourism for Eliminating Poverty program (ST-EP).

2.3.1 Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa (FTTSA)

The main aim of Fair Trade in Tourism in South Africa is to use Fair Trade concept and apply it to tourism in order to create a niche product with significant opportunities for previously disadvantaged communities (FTTSA, 2005). In order for Fair Trade to make tourism more fair, it prioritizes those in the host destinations: with no previous influence in tourism decision-making, that are disadvantaged or discriminated against economically or socially, that would commit to the market, involved in new tourism-related initiatives and lastly, are employed in tourism (FTTSA, 2005). Consequently, the beneficiaries of Fair Trade in Tourism are supposed to be ones that need the support the most, the local community stakeholder groups. Many of these groups are not able to work without the support of Fair Trade organizations.

In 2002, Fair Trade in South Africa was the first organization to award a label regarding Fair Trade in the tourism sector. The types of tourism products that are eligible to apply for the Fair Trade in Tourism trademark are tourism resources, facilities and services. Other types of tourism products such as tourism associations, non-governmental organizations and other non-commercial entities do not qualify (Seif, 2002). Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa has several important principles (Seif, 2002:4). These include the concepts of fair share, democracy, respect, reliability, transparency and sustainability (Seif, 2002). For a description of the principles see Table 2.3. The principle of sustainability includes increased knowledge through capacitating local people, better use of resources, reduction of leakage and support for entrepreneurs who have been previously disadvantaged. Another important concept in terms of Benefit sharing is fair share, where participants involved in a tourism-related activity should obtain their fair share of income or benefits, in relation to the activities practiced in the tourism sector. The fair share concept, under the principle of sustainability, is closely linked to the principle of equity in terms of access to resources by all user groups. There are three criteria for accrediting tourism establishments. Under staff criterion, they are assessed based on fair wages and working conditions, fair operations, purchasing and redistribution of

benefits. The second criterion is ethical business practice, and while the third is respect for human rights, culture and the environment (FTTSA, 2005).

Table 2.3 Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa Principles

	Fair Trade in Tourism Principles
Fair Share	All participants involved in a tourism activity should get their fair share of the income from the operation wherein the input determines the output.
Democracy	All participants involved in a tourism activity should have the right and opportunity to participate in decisions that concern them.
Respect	Both host and visitor should have respect for human rights, culture and environment. This includes: safe working conditions and practices; protection of children and young workers; promoting gender equality; understanding and tolerance of socio-cultural norms; conservation of the environment; HIV / AIDS awareness.
Reliability	The services delivered to tourists should be reliable. This means: quality reflecting value for money; basic safety ensured by host and visitor.
Transparency	Tourism activities should establish mechanisms of accountability. This includes: ownership of tourism activities must be clearly defined; all participants need to have equal access to information; sharing of profits, benefits and losses must be transparent.
Sustainability	The tourism activities should strive to be sustainable. This includes: increased knowledge through capacity building; improved use of available resources through networking and partnerships; economic viability through responsible use of resources and democratic management.

Source: Seif, 2002:4

In order to obtain accreditation from Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa, tourism establishments are required to engage in a self-assessment process through a questionnaire that is reviewed by an independent panel and followed by an on-site evaluation. A panel of experts assess and review the process and award the Trademark or Label for a year to the successful candidates (Seif and Gordon, 2003). During this period, FTTSA, with the assistance of an independent assessor, will define targets agreed on by both parties for

improvement in terms of quality and compliance with the criteria established by FTTSA (Seif and Gordon, 2003).

Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa reflects the change in perception over the years in terms of tourism development. This tool ensures that social and labour issues are quantified and certified as well as ensuring that environmental, economic and social dimensions of tourism are taken into account. Redman (2009) argues that Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa includes aspects of “social justice, racial equity and predisposition in policy” towards an enhancement of the benefits to local poor communities. Another important tool that has been identified in the literature in terms of providing benefits to the poor communities is called sustainable tourism for eliminating poverty.

2.3.2 Sustainable Tourism for Eliminating Poverty

The Sustainable Tourism for Eliminating Poverty programme (ST-EP) was launched as one of the tools of pro-poor tourism at the World Summit for Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002 (Hall, 2007) and emerged as a direct response to the Millennium Development Goals. ST-EP developed as a tool for poverty alleviation that emerged after learning from best practice through extensive research in tourism and poverty (Kester, 2003). This programme was influenced by pro-poor tourism and has focuses on encouraging a sustainable tourism industry (economic, environmental and social dimensions) with activities that particularly aim at alleviating poverty, delivering development and promoting employment for people who live on less than one dollar per day (Kester, 2003).

In order to make tourism more pro-poor, UNWTO and the ST-EP program identified four major activities. Firstly, capacity building seminars for local tourism stakeholders which provide general information on the contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation. These seminars also inform how the ST-EP projects can increase economic impacts at the local level. Secondly, UNWTO perceive research and publications as a way of promoting information about tourism potential on poverty reduction. Thirdly, the dissemination of information and raising awareness as UNWTO is aimed at making tourism a key target for development aid as well and therefore capturing the interest of donors, both bilateral and multilateral, in tourism-related activities (Sofield et al., 2004). Lastly, ST-EP projects are being implemented around the world and the major donors are UNWTO, ST-EP foundation,

Netherlands Development Organization (SNV) and the Italian government. These projects focus on the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction and they intend to improve the capacities of national tourism administrators as well as local authorities in developing countries to devise and implement poverty alleviation policies, plans and projects, through the development of sustainable forms of tourism (UNWTO, 2004.). The goals of these projects and initiatives are aligned with the objectives of sustainable tourism, ecotourism and community-based tourism (Ashley et al., 2001).

ST-EP has identified seven mechanisms to enhance poverty alleviation in the tourism sector, described below in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 ST-EP mechanisms for poverty reduction

	ST-EP mechanisms
1	Employment of poor in tourism enterprises
2	Supply of goods and services to tourism enterprises by the poor or by enterprises employing the poor
3	Direct sale of goods and services to visitors by the poor – informal economy
4	Establishment and running of tourism enterprises by the poor
5	Tax or levy on tourism income or profits with proceeds benefiting the poor
6	Voluntary giving or support by tourism enterprises and tourists
7	Investment in infrastructure stimulated by tourism also benefiting the poor in the locality (directly or through support to other sectors)

Source: UNWTO, 2006c

Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty is a tourism approach in which the benefits from tourism are specifically directed to the poor (Sofield et al., 2004). One of tourism projects, implemented through the ST-EP approach, was the Savannaland Tourist Programme located in Mole National Park, Ghana. This project was executed by SNV to develop Ghana as a sustainable tourist destination as well as to enhance benefits to low-income communities. Through the help of SNV, the outcomes of this initiative were numerous including training of

the local community in tour guiding and on how to develop and manage tourist destinations, through the engagement of community tourism committees as well as working with the local community and private sector towards enabling the environment through the construction of a bridge that guide people to the park (SNV, 2007). According to the same source, the revenue of the park increased from EUR 2700 to EUR 63000 between 2008 and 2009. This revenue results from entrance, safari and camping fees as well as a number of activities that are tourists are encouraged to undertake while they are in the park (SNV, 2007). Similarly, in Albania and Macedonia, tourism action planning has provided a number of benefits to the local community such as improved roads, water and electricity. The needs of the local communities are identified and lobbies for funding are prepared by the local tourism committee in conjunction of a number of tourism stakeholders such as local government, civil society and the private sector (SNV, 2007). The money raised by the tourism committee is over EUR 500 000 for the implementation of the activities, since 2008. SNV supports a number of projects in many parts of the world including the African and Asian continents (Sofield et al., 2004).

Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty and Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa are two tools that aim to enhance the benefits to local communities of tourism initiatives. These different approaches to tourism have highlighted the need to incorporate a human dimension. New approaches and tools are directing tourism growth towards local needs and interests, in order to create a sustainable industry. The main goal of sustainable tourism is to enhance positive impacts and benefits and mitigate negative impacts and losses to the local communities. These outcomes can lead to ecological, economic, socio-cultural, psychological and political benefits as well as losses that may accrue as a result of various tourism initiatives. Local communities will experience a range of impacts and the factors that enhance or constrain the benefits need to be understood. It is argued that tourism is a sector that can promote economic development and alleviate poverty in local communities, but in order to do so, the tourism sector needs to adapt its approach to match the needs and desires of the local community.

2.4 Benefits and losses in the tourism sector

Recent approaches to tourism have emerged mainly as an antithesis to mass tourism. Included in them is an acknowledgement of the sensitivities and concerns regarding the environment,

social and economic dimensions of tourism (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Reid, 2003). In this context, there are a number of benefits that should accrue to the local communities which live in areas adjacent to or are affected by tourism initiatives (Reid, 2003). Benefits to local communities can be either economic or non-economic in nature (Crouch, 2004). It is widely accepted that tourism has the potential to affect the lives of communities and over the past decades there have been numerous studies that have focused on attitudes towards tourism (Lankford, 1994), as well as the impact that tourism has had on communities' livelihoods (Simpson, 2008). While a number of studies have focused on the positive impacts of tourism, recently there have been a number of studies focusing on the negative impacts. The following table shows a number of authors who have highlighted the positive and negative impacts of tourism on host communities (See Tables 2.5 and 2.6 and 2.7).

From an economic perspective, there are three pathways through which benefits and associated losses of tourism initiatives can be mediated by the poor: (1) direct effects, (2) secondary effects (these include indirect and induced effects) and (3) dynamic effects (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). Direct effects include labour income and additional livelihood impacts that occur through direct participation from actors in the tourism sector. These effects often involve the people living in the vicinity of the tourism destination and are often associated with the labour income from jobs and income from small and informal enterprises and non-labour income benefits (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). Increased income and increased employment in a tourism destination have been commonly identified as the most important positive economic impacts (Lundberg et al., 1995). In terms of economic development, these two factors are critical and over the years it has been clear that the supply of goods and services is another way that local communities can benefit indirectly from the tourism industry (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). Figure 3.1 highlights the pathways of benefits from tourism to the poor.

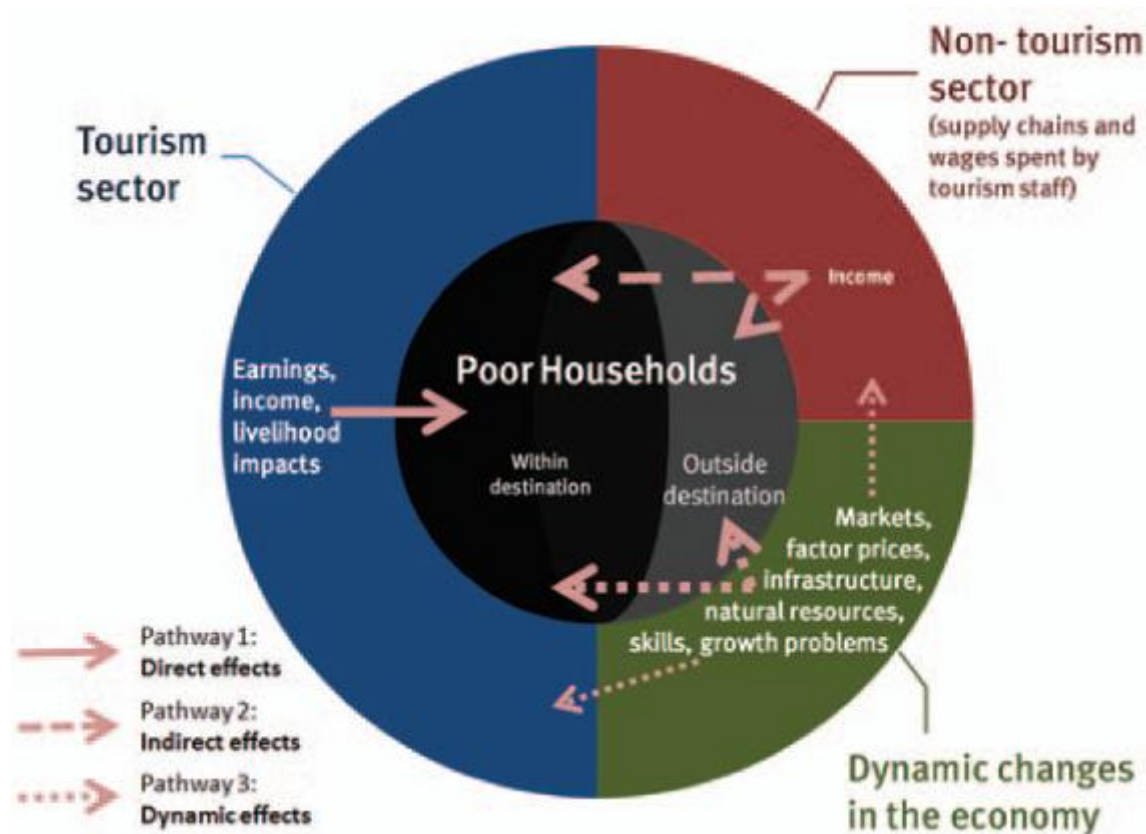


Figure 2.2.1 Pathways of benefits to the poor from the tourism sector

Source: Mitchell and Ashley, 2007

Secondly, indirect impacts take place through the value chain of tourism in relation to the economy such as food and beverages, transport, construction, among others (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). It has been argued that the supply of vegetables, fish or even thatch for the building of roofs to the tourism business has the potential to provide indirect benefits to the local community. Van der Wouw (2008) has argued that these effects can be felt on local communities that are not near the tourism destination. Additionally, another way in which the poor can benefit from tourism includes the revenue spent by tourism employees in the local economy (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). See Figure 3.1.

Dynamic or long-term effects, pathway three, represent the effects on the economy and society that strengthen the impacts of tourism in the local or macro economy such as changes in the position of women in society (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). This can take place in the local community or in the wider macro economy according to Figure 3.1. For the purpose of this study, only direct and indirect impacts are evaluated. The development of tourism,

therefore, depending on how it is developed or implemented, has the potential to impact on the lives and livelihoods of poor people to a great extent.

Table 2.5 Summary of Economic Impacts Associated with Tourism Development

Benefits / Positive Impacts	Losses / Negative Impacts	Sources:
Economic		
1. Provides foreign exchange earnings, national and regional economic development, and increased tax revenues. 2. New wage-based economic opportunities, particularly independence for women. 3. Increased wealth and/or standard of living at individual, regional and national levels. 4. Increased income security through economic diversity. 5. Improve marginal economic status and reduce dependence on the welfare state. 6. Provide employment opportunities to unemployed or underemployed, skilled and unskilled. 7. May provide new markets for agriculture/sea product. 8. Provide another livelihood option.	1. Job requirements may not match locals' skills. 2. Change from traditional or subsistence economies to market-based ones. 3. Economic leakage can promote uneven distribution of costs and benefits of development. 4. May necessitate a level of technology, infrastructure and foreign imports which the host country cannot afford. 5. May increase local demand for foreign goods. 6. Limited, seasonal or specialized skill set developed. 7. Seasonal or temporal work. 8. Can increase local cost of living. 9. Competitive industry so tourism developers' investments made on profits maximization not necessarily on community well being and equity. 10. Overdependence on a single industry.	Altman (1989); Altman (1996); Altman and Finlayson (1993); Ashley (2000); Boo (1990); Callimanopulous (1982a, 1982b); Cukier (1996); Davis <i>et al.</i> (1988); Editorial Staff for Travel and Tourism Intelligence (1996); Fenco Shawinigan engineering, Ltd. (1994); Gossling (2003); Himmamowa (1975); Jenkins (1997); King and Burton (1989); King <i>et al.</i> (1993); Lankford <i>et al.</i> (1994); Lujan (1993); Mathieson and Wall (1982); McLaren (2003); Mitchell and Ashley (2010); Neto (2003); Pearce (1981); Pi-Sunyer (1982); Robben (1982); Ryan (1999); Shera and Matsuoka (1992); Volkman (1982, 1983);

Source: Walker (1998) cited by Tao (2006) and adapted with additional literature

McLaren (2003) has argued that negative impacts from tourism initiatives are also likely to occur in poor communities. In particular, in certain tourism destinations, jobs are seasonal and the wages are low when compared to other occupations (McLaren, 2003). Additionally, there is a widespread understanding that only a small proportion of the revenue generated by the tourism sector remains in the local economy, mainly due to leakages (Gossling, 2003). Leakages can be internal or import-related, external or 'invisibly' associated with damage and degradation of natural resources (McLaren, 2003).

From an ecological perspective, it is widely accepted that the losses incurred in local communities are often greater than the potential benefits that initiatives are able to generate (see Table 2.5). McLaren (2003) has suggested that the carrying capacity of local communities is often exceeded in tourism destinations and consequently there are various ways in which the environment becomes impacted. Over-consumption or exploitation of natural resources can lead to their depletion and degradation and as a result conflict may emerge between the local community and the tourism sector over natural resources (McLaren, 2003, Neto, 2003). Ecological areas with high-value resources (e.g. oceans, unique flora and fauna, mountains, among others) are one of the main attractions of the tourism industry (Neto, 2003). Unregulated or concentrated development of tourism also poses a threat as it leads to trampling, sewage discharge, deforestation and destruction of coral for souvenirs (Nagle, 1999). Threats thus arise mainly from pollution, overuse of resources and inadequate practices.

The development of infrastructure such as holiday villages on prime beach front locations can create severe consequences such as erosion of the dune system, fencing off of public access areas and overcrowded beaches (Garcia and Servera, 2003). Thus, unregulated and unplanned development in coastal areas can increase the stress on the surrounding resources that are used for tourism and other recreational activities. Table 2.6 highlights the positive and negative ecological impacts associated with tourism development. Overall, alternative forms of tourism such as ecotourism tend to be more ecologically sensitive and place greater importance on natural and cultural resources (Honey, 1999). Table 2.6 summarises the positive and negative ecological impacts that emerge from tourism development.

Table 2.6 Summary of Ecological Impacts Associated with Tourism Development

Benefits / Positive Impacts	Losses / Negative Impacts	Sources:
Ecological/Biophysical		
1. New land use improves land and resource conservation. 2. Protection of selected natural environments or prevention of ecological decline/impacts 3. Environmental education 4. Environmental species conservation 5. Funding for conservation	1. New land use diminishes land and resource health and conservation, increases use and trampling. 2. Environmental risks, impacts and spin-off impacts introduced. 3. Resource exploitation to take advantage of new economic opportunities and needs. 4. Increased competition for and consumption of scarce resources. 5. Pollution (air, water, noise, solid waste, visual) 6. Loss of natural landscape or open spaces 7. Destruction of flora and fauna 8. Introduction of exotic species 9. Disruption of wildlife breeding cycles and behaviors 10. Loss of coastal and marine resources 11. Surface water and ground-water diversion	Barbier (1992); Doğan (1989); Fenco Shawinigan Engineering Ltd. (1994); Fennell (2002); Gossling (2003); Hall and Page (2006); Lankford <i>et al.</i> (1994); Mathieson and Wall (1982); McLaren (2003); Mitchell and Ashley (2010); Moreno (2005); Pearce (1981); R. Smith (1992); Robben (1982); Shera and Matsuoka (1992); Stronza (2001); Sullivan <i>et al.</i> (1995); Volkman (1983);

Source: Walker (1998) cited by Tao (2006) and adapted with additional literature

From a social and cultural perspective, the tourism sector has the potential to improve local communities' quality of life and at the same time create a feeling of social belonging (McLaren, 2003). Additionally, the sharing of experiences between visitors and local communities has the power to expose both parties to diverse values and an appreciation and awareness of their own and different cultures. Nevertheless, a significant impact that can emerge is the commodification of the local culture. According to McLaren (2003), commodification is the process where local rituals and practices are perceived as an attraction and are marketed to the tourism industry. Through commercializing the local culture, negative impacts on local communities such as the destruction or alteration of local identity and authenticity in order to satisfy the expectations of visitors are likely to occur (Stronza, 2001). Tourism that is conducted in a responsible way preserves the cultural identity of local communities and revitalizes traditional skills and performances (McLaren, 2003). Table 2.7 highlights the positive and negative social and cultural impacts of tourism on local communities.

Table 2.7 Summary of Social and Cultural Impacts Associated with Tourism Development

Benefits / Positive Impacts	Losses / Negative Impacts	Sources:
Social and Cultural Changes		
1. May aspire to higher education in order to access new jobs, improved work ethic/attitude. 2. Smaller families are associated with more educated individuals. 3. Exposure to and appreciation of other cultures. 4. Provision of social and recreational opportunities. 5. Improved quality of life. 6. Create social belonging 7. Opportunity to share culture and history, create better awareness of culture. 8. Opportunity for resurgence or maintenance of traditional art forms. 9. Promotion of good cultural exchanges between those who can travel and those who cannot. 10. Revitalization of traditional handicraft skills and performance. 11. From self-identity to communal identity. 12. Redefine and reclaim cultural and ethnic identity. 13. Greater tolerance of social differences 14. Educational experience as facilitates meeting visitors 15. Satisfaction of psychological needs 16. Empowerment of women	1. Increased communication with external value systems and lifestyles may lead to new, social values and goals. 2. Increased number of permanent and/or temporary residents, changed social cohesion, dominance by outsiders. 3. Changes in gender roles and work responsibilities. 4. Loss of community identity 5. May aggravate social inequalities and lead to theft and hostility. 6. Promote indigenous servitude to the rich. 7. Advertising can falsely portray local lifestyles. 8. Tourists confront rather than blend in with local society. 9. Development often beyond locals' control. 10. New land uses undermine traditional customs, laws and beliefs, perhaps creating new forms of land and resource management or decreased environmental conservation. 11. Loss of access and land right to essential land resources for livelihood. 12. Increased contact with different cultural norms can lead to accelerated undermining of traditional cultures and beliefs, replacement of traditions with modern ideals and priorities. 13. Can challenge or even obliterate cultural and linguistic diversity. 14. Cultural changes may foster value and ideological rifts between younger and older generations. 15. Cultural can become "on display" for tourists, or lose its authenticity. 16. Social problems are caused by tourism such as excessive drinking, alcoholism, increased underage drinking, crime, drugs, prostitution 17. Family disruptions	Callimanopoulous (1982a, 1982b); Ceballos-Lascurain (1996); Cohen (1979); Chock et al., (2007); Cukier (1996); Doğan (1989); Fenco Shawinigan Engineering, Ltd. (1994); Goodwin and Santili (2009); Gossling (2003); Hall (2007); Harrison (2008); Himamowa (1975); Jafari (1989); Jafari (1989); Jenkins (1997); Keane (1995); King <i>et al.</i> (1993); Lankford <i>et al.</i> (1994); Long (1996); Lujan (1993); Mathieson and Wall (1982); McLaren (2003); McKercher (1993); Medina (2003); Mitchell and Ashley (2010); Nicholson (1997); Nunez (1989); Pearce (1981); Pearce (1981); Pi-Sunyer (1982); R. Smith (1992); Robben (1982); Ryan (1999); Shera and Matsuoka (1992); Swain (1989); R. Smith (1992); V. Smith (1996); Volkman (1982, 1983); Volkman (1983);

Source: Walker (1998) cited by Tao (2006) and adapted with additional literature

One of the main criticisms of tourism development, through a social lens, is the potential that this sector has for local communities to become over reliant on tourism (McLaren, 2003). As a consequence, local communities become more economically vulnerable (Gossling, 2003).

Extensive research has focused on the economic impact of tourism, based in particular on the fact that tourism has the potential to contribute to the economy in the form of jobs and foreign exchange (Torres, 2002). Although there are a number of potential benefits that can be generated to increase the benefits for poor people (See Table 2.5), non-economic impacts have emerged as equal to or with higher significance for the livelihoods of local communities. Mathieson and Wall (1982:133) suggested that “social and cultural impacts of tourism are the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in value systems, individual behaviours, family relationships, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organizations”. For this reason, social and cultural impacts need to be examined in great detail. In terms of ecological impacts, the tourism sector is often dependent on natural resources (McLaren, 2003). Although significant economic and social benefits can emerge from the dependency of tourism on natural resources, tourism that is unregulated and unplanned is likely to cause significant negative impacts (Honey, 1999). In order to fully understand the sharing of benefits from the coast, both economic and non-economic impacts to local communities have to be evaluated and incorporated in the decision-making process.

2.5 The links between tourism and fisheries sectors in coastal communities

Coastal tourism and fisheries are extremely dependent on healthy marine habitats. Coral reefs in particular are marine ecosystems that have the potential to provide economic and social sustainability for many local communities; however this is dependent on the resource status as well as that of associated ecosystems. Coral reefs are important spawning, nursery and breeding grounds for about 4 000 fish species and they support species such as marine turtles, manta rays, dugongs, whale sharks, and others (Bunting, 2001).

In the fisheries sector, resources in coral reef ecosystems are exploited by tens of millions of fishers living near the reefs and supply approximately 10% of the seafood around the world (Moberg and Folke, 1999). Healthy coral reefs can produce many metric tons of fish

(Bunting, 2001). The harvesting of fish, one of the most important coral reef resources, is mainly for subsistence of local communities or for sale in local markets. On the other hand, fisheries place increased pressure on coral reef environments as they remove the organisms directly, thus depleting reef populations; they disturb or even harm other organisms with destructive fishing practices; and they compromise the viability of larger reefs through community change or habitat damage (Sadovy and Vincent, 2002). However, the destruction and degradation of reefs have also been associated with other factors, such as runoff from agriculture activities, eutrophication and pollution due to domestic and industrial wastes, mining of coral and sand, oil pollution, global warming and tourism-based activities (Salvat, 1992).

Ocean based tourism activities include recreational boating, diving, snorkelling, sun bathing, cruises, recreational fishing, deep-sea fishing and yacht cruising (Hall, 2001). Recreation is supported by the coral reef and the recreational value of reefs is characterized by an amazing potential. One of the contributing factors is that coral reefs are one of the most species-rich habitats in the world with the ability to produce the fine white coral sand that is one of the main attractions of the tropical beaches (Moberg and Folke, 1999). Amongst the most diverse habitats in the world, coral reefs are also amongst the most fragile and this habitat is especially affected by ocean-based activities. These activities create direct impacts on the reef such as coral death through entanglement using gill nets, fish traps and anchors; entanglement of marine wildlife due to discarded or lost fishing lines, fishing nets and plastic ropes; and physical breakage of coral mainly because of irresponsible behaviour from divers and snorkelers, among others (Yoshikawa and Asoh, 2004).

Coral reefs in a healthy state have the power to support subsistence and commercial fisheries and at the same time they can support employment and businesses in tourism and recreation. Tourism and fisheries are both dependent on the marine habitat, but both sectors are also dependent on each other. In developing countries, tourism has the capacity to promote a strong domestic market for fishery products mainly due to the high demand for fish by tourist hotels and restaurants. Additionally, it can add value to the products that are harvested, although the values of certain species also increase as they become harder to find (Sale, 2008). The insatiable demand for fish and seafood as well as tourism curios can result in the decline of fishery stocks and ultimately overfishing of key reef species.

Sadoy and Vincent (2002) have suggested that it is now plausible to anticipate local and global extinction of reef fish through fishing. High pressure on fisheries resources compromises the ability of the fishery to meet the needs of present and future generations. Therefore, as an alternative, many local communities are replacing employment in fisheries with employment in the tourism industry. This reality has been regarded as an instrument of economic transition in the livelihoods of coastal communities (Fellenius et al., 1999). This transition towards tourism-driven development can lead to conflicts between fisher and tourism interests in coastal areas.

Access to coastal land is one of the key conflicts between the sectors (Mahon, 2002). Tourism investors build their hotels and marinas on prime beachfront land and often move fishers from areas used for landing boats or seine fishing. As a consequence, fishers' access to the beach and to marine resources of economic value is restricted. Frontani and Hopkins (2008) suggest that fishing communities have also been pushed back from beachfronts because these coastal areas have become tourism establishments, diving shops, restaurants and other services aimed at tourists.

Another conflict is linked to the use of marine space (Mahon, 2002). Commercial fishers, recreational fishers and tourism users of the coast are often in conflict because of their different values and objectives. Commercial fishers are mainly interested in maximizing revenue for their effort, while recreational fishers are more interested in catching any fish for dinner or for fun. Coastal tourists, particularly divers and snorkelers, are interested in exploring and seeing large and abundant fish in the sea. The multiple use of these resources is likely to cause problems because of the conflicting views of different reef users. The goal of a recreational diver or fisher is incompatible with a fully exploited fishery that is often linked with over-use of reef resources by commercial fishers. Ahmed (2006) has described one case study in Jamaica where recreational divers have an aversion to seeing fish traps and are concerned that this is likely to contribute to decline of fish stocks by catching underage fish. On the other hand, fishers complained that recreational divers were damaging their traps and cutting fish lines, compromising their survival.

The incompatibility of the objectives of fisheries management accounts for another fisheries-tourism conflict (Mahon, 2002). One example of a fishery management objective is to prevent some fishers from harvesting to guarantee the quantity and genetic quality of future

generations (Bohnsack, 1993). One strategy to improve the resource through fisheries management is closed areas but these can be ineffective and impractical. Closed areas are mainly aimed at increasing the fish stocks by restricting commercial and subsistence fishers from using reef resources. However tourism users are often allowed to use these areas. This could be perceived as a strategy to benefit snorkel and scuba users, who use the area for recreational purposes, while restricting fishers who use the reefs mainly for survival.

2.6 From Benefits to Models

In the previous sections, I evaluated some important tourism approaches that have emerged in the tourism literature since the 1980s. This was followed by a discussion of the outcomes, which include benefits and losses, from the tourism sector. This section will examine different tourism models that have been implemented to enhance benefits to local communities, and which have been initiated by different actors (NGOs, private sector and government).

2.6.1 NGO-community model – Donor funding for Benefit sharing

NGOs are “self-governing, private, not-for-profit organizations that are geared to improving the quality of life for disadvantaged people” (Vakil, 1997:2060). Many NGOs have given priority to development approaches that take account of the perspectives of the local community, interactions between local communities and visitors, and promote ecological and cultural conservation (Campion, 2002). In the tourism context, NGOs are encouraged to support the goals and objectives of the United Nations and governmental agencies that recognize them (Jafari, 2000). The goals and objectives of NGOs are mainly to sustain the involvement of local communities in advocating for policy change and to support the development of local economies, ecological programmes and initiatives and social change in favour of poor and marginalized populations (Fennell and Downing, 2003).

In the 1980s, the rise of alternative approaches to tourism and the rise in the sustainability movement influenced the growth in numbers of NGOs, particularly located in the northern hemisphere and engaged in poverty reduction and development in the African continent (Fafchamps and Owens, 2006). Fowler (1988;1) argued that the 1980s was the “development

decade of NGOs". In the 1990s, NGOs started to use tourism models with strong sustainability principles with legitimate development strategies that gained the support of donors and aid agencies. These models, according to the evolution of tourism approaches, are shifting from the conventional mass tourism model towards one that is more sustainable, and this shift was mostly notable after the 1992 Rio Earth Summit on sustainable development. NGOs, in accordance with the goals and objectives described by Fennell and Downing (2003), are following this tendency. Haan and Van der Duim (2008) argued that there are a number of publications subsequent to the Summit that attempted to make a conceptual linkage between the concerns of sustainable development and those of sustainable tourism (Hunter, 1995; Hardy et al., 2002), as well as publications that promote approaches and tools that better integrate tourism development with conservation and cultural principles at tourist destination areas.

NGO-community models obtain resources in a variety of ways. One of these ways is through donor funding (Lash and Austin, 2003). For the developing countries, the institution of structural adjustment programmes has contributed to the involvement of NGOs in the development process since it is believed that NGOs have qualities to deliver services effectively and have greater ability to target poor or vulnerable groups (Fowler, 1991). Another important factor that has catalysed the growth and expansion of NGO involvement in development issues is that donors prefer to channel their assistance through NGOs rather than government agencies that can be associated with corruption, instability, ideological and political differences (Fafchamps, 2008). The role of NGOs in developing countries is largely supported due their abilities and capacities in contrast with the limitations of government agencies (Fafchamps, 2008). Also, strategies implemented on the ground by NGOs are often a result of requests for collaboration with communities, and in this way community-based activities are being developed and the local community defines their needs and is empowered in the process (Fowler, 1991). These strategies or initiatives on the ground are often small scale, and for this reason it is easier to adapt them to specific requirements of communities (Fowler, 1988). NGOs have been considered effective instruments of development since they are able to adapt, taking into consideration changing circumstances at the community level, ability to ensure that local communities participate actively in discussions and their relative cost-effectiveness (Fafchamps and Owens, 2006).

Additional advantages, which NGOs have over governments, include achieving the right relationship between development processes and outcomes, reaching the poor and vulnerable while targeting their assistance on chosen groups, obtaining true meaningful participation of the intended beneficiaries, working with the people and then deciding on the correct type of assistance for them, being flexible and responsive to their work and working with and strengthening local institutions (Trendt, 1998 cited by Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007)

Fafchamps and Owens (2006) also emphasized that the success of NGOs in terms of development activities as well as their placement at the grassroots have portrayed their ability to respond to the needs of the poor. Hauck and Sowman (2003) have described the Amadiba Community Tourism Project, which involves the support of an NGO in a tourism initiative in South Africa. The NGO initiated and facilitated the development of a community-based lodge as well as building on the skills and capacity of the surrounding community. The role of the NGO was a “facilitative, mentoring and supportive role” to the community committees (Hauck and Sowman, 2003:160).

Kilby (2000) argues that NGOs pursue a wide range of objectives that include relief, development, advocacy and empowerment through a number of different methods that include direct action, lobbying, funding and networking. The partnerships between the NGO and the local community can take three forms: the implementers, the catalysts and the partners (Lewis, 2007). NGOs have the role of implementers when there is mobilization of resources to provide goods and services (Chamber, 1987). This is one of the main roles, including programs and projects designed and established to provide services for people, and they react quickly to local demand as well as the growth of contracting in which NGOs carry out specific tasks in return for payment (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007). The second role is the catalyst, which reflects the ability of the NGO to inspire, facilitate and contribute to the development change among other actors including grassroots organizations, empowerment approaches to development, lobbying and advocacy work as well as the power that NGOs may have to influence wider policy processes (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007). Lastly, the role of partner, where NGOs work closely with a variety of stakeholders on joint activities, such as with the private sector, government and others (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007).

Baccaro (2001) has showed that NGOs can promote the organization and empowerment of the poor. Empowerment has been defined as the ability of individuals to gain control socially,

politically, economically and psychologically through a number of ways that include access to information, knowledge and skills, decision making, individual self-efficacy, community participation and perceived control (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007). In the light of this partnership, NGOs aim to promote sustainable community development through activities that promote capacity building and it has been argued that NGOs are often created in order to expand the capacities of people (Korten, 1990). Sustainable community development emphasizes the balance between ecological concerns and development objectives, and at the same time enhancing local social partnerships. Self-reliance and empowerment are promoted by NGOs particularly through the support of community-based groups and relying on participatory processes (Korten, 1990). Another important role of NGOs is related to the decentralization from government, since it helps poor communities to acquire more power and to be more active in the decision making processes that may impact their livelihoods (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007).

However, the NGO- community model is also likely to have a number of challenges. The rapid rise of donor support for these alternative and more sustainable forms of tourism is problematic since there is a lack of guidance and orientation in terms of promotion of sustainable tourism (GTZ, 1999). First, the nature of donor involvement in the sector needs to be understood since development agencies and donors are sometimes involved in projects where they have little knowledge of tourism concepts and issues (GTZ, 1999). Donors, in the face of failed projects, have withdrawn from all the activities in tourism during the 1980s (GTZ, 1999). Secondly, the negative impacts of the tourism development during the 1980s, have lead to limited funding from donors to sustainable tourism projects (Heher, 2003). For tourism projects, particularly in light of the most recent recession, the funding is limited with the maximum seed funding for projects being three years or less. The concern is if the NGO and communities become dependent on donor funding, or if the donors are actually driving and controlling the process since their assistance is often associated with imposed rules and responsibilities that have to be followed by both NGO and communities.

Although the motivation of NGOs is mainly to sustain the involvement of local communities in advocating for change and to support social and economic development, it is important to understand that tourism is a business and “if the business plan is flawed, and the enterprise

unprofitable, the continuation of the enterprise will likely frustrate those whose expectations were raised unrealistically” (Spenceley, 2008:300).

Another key challenge of this partnership is the evidence that NGOs may fail to promote the benefits described above to local communities, particularly because they have been perpetuating subsistence activities and dependency and often operating as money lenders (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007). A series of studies undergone by ODI in Zimbabwe, India and Bangladesh suggest that NGOs failed to achieve benefits to the poorest, benefits to women and didn't ensure the self-sustainability of local NGOs (Buturo, n.d).

2.6.2 Private sector – community model – Corporate Social Responsibility

The private sector is defined as organizations and individuals that work outside the direct control of the state and consist of companies and businesses that are for-profit and non-profit private organizations (Bennett, 1991). For the purpose of this study, the private sector is analyzed only at the local level. In the tourism context, the private sector is extremely important for local communities in terms of providing investment at the local level as well as ensuring quality tourism management (UNESCAP, 2003).

Corporate social responsibility is a framework through which private sector institutions act “in a socially responsible fashion [...] to strive to utilize the resource at its disposal as efficiently as possible in producing the goods and services that society wants at prices consumers are willing to pay” (Heal, 2008: 2). This term, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), is often used to refer to business' responsibility to the environment and society, since there is currently no universally accepted definition for CSR due to the fact that over the years, it has been used to describe a wide range of corporate activity (Carroll, 1999). Frynas (2005:503) suggests that CSR is an umbrella term used to describe a range of corporate activities that include: 1) companies have a responsibility for their impact on society and the natural environment, sometimes beyond legal compliance and the liability of individuals; 2) companies have a responsibility for their behaviour of others with whom they do business; and 3) companies need to manage their relationship with the wider society, whether for reasons of commercial viability or to add value to the society, or both.

Carroll (1991) has defined four main pillars of social responsibility that can be applied to the tourism sector. Economic responsibility includes the fact that tourism businesses are economic entities that are designed to provide goods and services to members of a society or local communities (Carroll, 1991). The second pillar is the legal responsibility where the private sector is expected to “comply with the laws and regulations enforced by federal, state, and local governments as ground rule” (Carroll, 1991:41). The third pillar is ethical responsibilities that include standards, norms and expectations that portray what different stakeholders (tourists, employees, wider community) consider as “fair, just, or in keeping with the respect or protection of stakeholders’ rights” (Carroll, 1991:41). Lastly, philanthropic responsibilities include “contributions of financial resources or time for education and community, as well as engaging in programmes to promote human welfare or goodwill” (Carroll, 1991:4).

The notion of the benefits of CSR can be divided in terms of strengths and the weaknesses of this model. Firstly, Hopkins (2004) argues that CSR can help companies manage risk and improve their image and reputation by strengthening the ties between companies and local communities in which they operate. Goddard (2005) has further argued that corporate activity enhances benefits to local communities by increasing the levels of social participation as well as the generation of positive attitudes towards the public and private sectors. Also, companies may implement CSR projects in order to obtain approval and support from the local community for their activities (Goddard, 2005). This reflects the importance of obtaining approval from local communities, although companies, *à priori*, obtain the legal right to operate. Secondly, CSR programs have resulted in increased access to basic services, improved labour practices particularly in developing countries and greater environmental protection (Goddard, 2005). Thirdly, a company’s performance is likely to be improved due to the public’s increasing drive to make socially responsible investing decisions (Hopkins, 2004). Fourthly, Frynas (2005) argues that CSR has the power to give companies a competitive advantage, mainly when vying for contracts. This is the case particularly in oil producing countries, where companies that have CSR projects are favoured by governments when awarding concessions. Lastly, CSR, particularly in countries that are governed by weak governments, may be more capable of presenting deliverables to local communities. Strengths advocated for the implementation of CSR include the following factors: 1) the private sector has an important role in poverty alleviation and development and 2) globalization and the rising power of corporations is inevitable.

However, CSR also has its weaknesses. Firstly, the concept of business in relation to poverty alleviation and development does not always live up to expectations since companies have a profit oriented vision which may conflict with the goals of CSR (Henderson, 2005). Also, another criticism is that CSR is capable of compromising a government's motivation to fulfil its responsibilities to citizens and local communities as it becomes dependent on private companies and businesses (Crook, 2005). In relation to the latter criticism, some critics argue that companies and businesses are not qualified to make decisions about the local community and the environment, and for this reason decisions should be left to those who are qualified or more capable (Crook, 2005). Although benefits are likely to be generated to local communities, it is unclear whether these are sustainable beyond the life of the company's operations. A major challenge to the private sector-community model is the concept of revenue leakage that describes money that escapes from the country and local communities (Honey, 1999). In Costa Rica, for example, great amounts of money leak out of communities to compensate tour operators, buy foreign products that appeal to tourists as well as to pay for tickets on international airlines (Lindsey, 2003). It has been noted that the amount of money that reaches the destination is problematic, despite the fact that ecotourists spend substantial amounts of money on ecotourism holidays (Wall, 1997). Van Wyk (2007:62) has furthered argued: "where tourist food is imported, luxury hotels are foreign-owned and holidays paid for as "all inclusive" in a tourist's country of origin, local communities and businesses do not benefit and are excluded from the supply chain, therefore tourism revenue does not reach them". Revenue leakage is the fore one of the potential challenges of the private sector model.

Whellams (2007) pointed out that the contribution of CSR activities to sustainable development is largely dependent on the way strategies are designed and how they respond to local and changing circumstances. In other words, CSR projects have to be designed in accordance with community characteristics and composition and be able to adapt in the case of changing circumstances.

2.6.3 Government – community model: Community Levy

The State has to fulfil political and social obligations in order to generate benefits and opportunities for local communities (Spenceley, 2003). One of the main roles of the government is to set legislative and regulatory frameworks for tourism (UNESCAP, 2003).

Governments play an important role in the formulation of the tourism development strategy. This is particularly in terms of regulating and managing the negative ecological and social impacts at different levels, which include national, provincial and local, as well as in terms of enhancing the positive impacts on local socio-economic development and alleviation of poverty (UNESCAP, 2003).

Legislation and regulations play an important role, particularly in terms of ensuring that local communities are able to benefit from tourism levies and taxes. According to UNESCAP (2003), government policies on taxes or levies need to be evaluated and designed in a way that is comprehensive and integrated in order that the necessary revenues are balanced against the effect on the tourism markets and the returns of tourism enterprises. In Mozambique, the implementation of a benefit-sharing framework in the protected areas has allowed the local communities to benefit from 20% of the revenues generated from tourism activities (Johnstone, 2011). This model will be explained in greater detail in the following sections. Government structures have the power to empower local communities through the engagement of the poor in order to identify opportunities that fit in the way local communities live and as a consequence overcome barriers to employment and enterprise (UNESCAP, 2003).

For the government-community model, Mitchell and Ashley (2010) have described one type of direct non-labour income that are shares of protected area fees that are transferred or spent on local communities that live adjacent to the protected area. One strategy adopted in protected areas in terms of tourism taxation is the collection of entrance fees. Entrance fees are the fees that are charged to visitors for entrance and access to protected areas. In Botswana, in 1989, entry fees were charged to foreigners at the entrance of protected areas, with a raise of 900% compared to previous years, yet the number of visitors increased 49% in the two subsequent years (Lindberg and Halpenny, 2001). In Australia, it was found that tourists are more inclined to respect their surroundings and the environment if they have to pay to enjoy them (Buckley, 2003). Although this entrance fee system is likely to create

economic benefits to the local community, there are a number of challenges to the successful implementation of entrance fees including inefficient fee collection, lack of capacitated personnel and corruption and bribery at entrance gates (Font et al., 2004). User fees are “fees charged to visitors for undertaking specified activities or for the use of specified facilities within protected areas, subject to compliance with protected area regulations” (Font et al., 2004: 26). These fees are however more oriented towards supporting conservation and management in protected areas. Other strategies adopted in protected areas in terms of funds that are raised from tourism are concessions and leases, direct operation of commercial activities, taxes, volunteers and donations (Font et al., 2004).

The weakness of this model includes the difficulty in terms of collection of tax earnings particularly when compared to a consumption tax that would be levied at the point of sale (Font et al., 2004). For protected areas, there are sometimes different points of entrance, therefore it is difficult to ensure that these taxes are paid without any losses. Another weakness of this model is in terms of “who pays the tax” since this can be a financial hardship for people in the middle and lower classes (Weston, 1983). Some critics also believe that taxes are a violation of the citizen’s individual freedom, particularly in terms of the right of each individual to decide how the earnings are going to be spent (George and Varghase, 2007). Lastly, particularly in developing countries, with incidence of corruption and bribery, such as in Mozambique (Rylance, 2008), people may be able to evade paying any income taxes.

The government-community model, particularly through redistributive policies and laws, under a benefit-sharing strategy is likely to have some challenges. For the particular case of Mozambique, these challenges are described in detail in the following chapters.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has focused on theories linked to tourism and benefit-sharing particularly through ecotourism, community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism (Ashley et al., 2001; Hall, 1996; Honey, 1999; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Ecotourism and community-based approaches intended to change the way the tourism industry was used as a development strategy. However, it is argued that they were not designed to address the ways of influencing

change or transforming the prevailing conventional mass tourism approach. In order to address these challenges, the pro-poor tourism approach was introduced in the late 1990s (Harrison, 2008). Pro-poor tourism has been defined as the tourism approach that specifically considers the concerns and needs of the poor. By incorporating a poverty perspective, pro-poor tourism aims to unlock opportunities for the poor, enhancing economic and other livelihood benefits, and promoting engagement in decision-making. Fair Trade Tourism in South Africa and Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty were approaches to tourism have highlighted the need to incorporate a human dimension to the tourism sector. New approaches and tools are directing tourism growth towards local needs and interests, in order to create a sustainable industry. The main goal of these types of tourism tools is to enhance positive impacts and benefits and mitigate negative impacts and losses to the local communities. These outcomes can lead to ecological, economic, socio-cultural, benefits and losses that may accrue as a result of various tourism initiatives. In terms of the ecological impacts, particular linkages between sectors have to be understood in order to enhance the benefits to the local community and the health of the resource these communities are often dependent on. It is argued that tourism is a sector that can promote economic development and alleviate poverty in local communities, but in order to do so, the tourism sector needs to adapt its approach to match the needs and desires of the local community.

Chapter 3 Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used in this study and discusses sampling methods, data collection and analysis, ethical concerns and the limitations encountered during the collection of data. For this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were undertaken through a case study approach. Household surveys, key informant interviews, focus group meetings and participant observation were methods that were used. The research was undertaken through a multi-phased approach, including intensive fieldwork, in order to gain an in depth understanding of the research topic.

3.2 Research approach

Research involves the application of a variety of different methods and techniques with the intention of creating scientific knowledge by using objective methods and procedures (Welman and Kruger, 2001). Grounded theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss and has been used in research since the 1960s (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The goal of a grounded theory approach is to generate theory based on the gathered data as opposed to using the data in order to confirm an existing theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). For this reason, principles of grounded theory were used in a multi-phased research approach, whereby data analysis was interspersed with recurring visits to the field that allowed for the refining of the conceptual framework and analysis based on the research results. Although a preliminary literature review was conducted at the outset of the study, further literature was explored and analysed based on the information emerging from the data collected in the field. This research process is affirmed by Corbin and Strauss (1990), who emphasise that the process of collection and analysis of data should be simultaneous as the initial analysis of data is then used to complement and shape ongoing data collection.

Grounded theory is not limited to a specific discipline or form of data gathering as it is valuable across several areas of research (Wells, 1995). The research approach guided by grounded theory relates specifically to the analysis phase, although there are some references to this theory being used during the collection phase (Glaser, 1992). In order to study local communities and their actions, data was collected through case studies, household

questionnaires, focus group discussions and key-informant interviews. For this reason, the researcher embarked on the research with the belief that qualitative and quantitative approaches can be utilized in order to result in a mixed method approach (Bailey, 1994).

Bryman (2001) has described qualitative research as the strategy in research that often emphasizes words instead of focusing on quantification. In addition, Bogdan and Biklen (1998) explain that the natural setting is the main source of data; this data is descriptive, with its main focus on the processes instead of outcomes, analyzed inductively and presented with a focus on respondents and their views. Validation of respondents as well as interpreting meaning and intention are crucial in this type of research. Creswell (2005) has described the quantitative approach as a strategy in research where the researcher decides the focus of study, asking unbiased, specific and narrow questions; it involves the collection of numeric data, followed by statistical analysis. In quantitative research, emphasis is often placed on collecting scores for measuring specific attributes of participants as well as on the procedures for comparing groups or factors about participants. In general, the combination of the two approaches aims to enhance the strengths of both whilst offsetting the weaknesses of each (Punch, 2005). In this study, a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods was used in order to triangulate the data and complement the information gathered through different approaches. The combination of the different methods allowed for greater accuracy and enriches the comprehension of a certain phenomenon by allowing for new and deeper dimensions to emerge (Todd, 1979).

3.3 Research Process

The data gathering process in this research involved a variety of methods over a period of two years. A literature review was undertaken prior to fieldwork, and was ongoing for the duration of the research. Data was collected in three case study sites using a multi-phased approach. Figure 3.1 describes the different phases involved in this study, from scoping visits to data gathering and analysis and the writing-up of chapters.

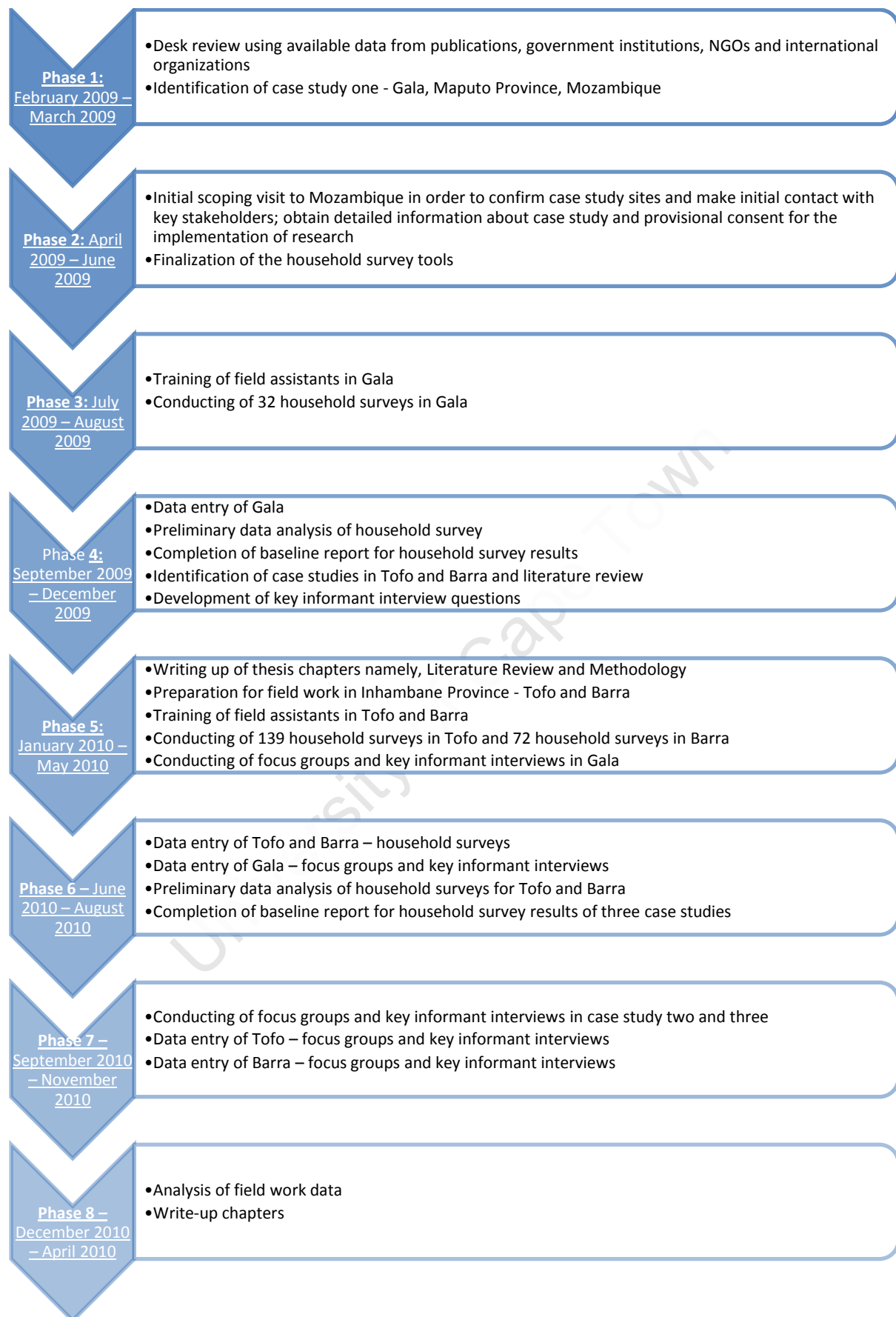


Figure 3.3.1 An overview of the multi-phased research approach used in this study

Local research assistants were identified and trained, and assisted with the household surveys, provided translations for focus groups and key informant interviews and provided a local context and understanding to the research. One research assistant was selected for the Gala community and three for Josina Machel and Conguiana communities. The number of research assistants is different in the case studies due to the size of the communities. The research assistants were selected based on the following criteria: (1) understanding the local language, and (2) previous involvement in administration of household questionnaires or other research experience. In Inhambane, an effort was made to recruit tourism graduates from the local college in order to ensure that data collection was rigorous and reliable as well as to contribute to the building of local capacity in the coastal tourism sector. The researcher briefed and trained the research assistants for two days on the research approach and process and also provided guidance throughout the field research.

3.4 Methods

This section highlights the different methods that were used to collect information on how people in Tofo, Barra and Gala benefit or lose from the tourism sector. Four main methods were used in this research: (1) case studies, (2) household surveys, (3) focus group discussions, and (4) key informant interviews. Each of these methods will be discussed in more detail.

3.4.1 Case study

A case study approach is an intensive investigation of individuals and situations (Lindegger, 1999). According to Bell (2005), the case study approach can be particularly appropriate for individual researchers because it provides an opportunity for one aspect of a problem to be studied in some depth. It is argued, therefore, that case studies are important methods to generate theory from data (Eisenhardt, 1988), thereby reflecting a grounded theory approach. Critics of this method, however, suggest that it is very difficult to cross-check information so there is the possibility of selective reporting and the resulting dangers of distortion of information (Bell, 2005; Denscombe, 2007). Sharing the same view, Lindegger (1999) has suggested that case studies are problematic due to their inability to validate and replicate data. However, according to Bell (2005), the case study approach provides an opportunity for one element of a problem to be studied in some depth as this approach relies on observation

and experiences of individuals for understanding how things work. Denscombe (2007:39) suggests that this approach is most vulnerable to criticism in relation to “credibility of generalization made from its findings”. Although the case study approach does not provide information that can be generalized across sites, using single case studies allows for an in depth understanding of particular issues or challenges (Eisenhardt, 1988; Yin, 2003).

For the purpose of this study, three case studies were identified in two coastal provinces where tourism initiatives have been established. These provinces were identified following a scoping visit and this choice was based on the criteria used for the case study sites. Case study research design allows the use of a phased approach to research where different research tools can be applied in order to build layers of information and understanding of the issues under investigation (Laws et al., 2003). In these case studies, the communities were involved in many economic activities such as fisheries, tourism, forestry and conservation. For this particular study, the tourism sector was the primary focus, but the linkages to fisheries were also explored.

3.4.1.1 Inhambane Province

Inhambane Province is situated on the Tropic of Capricorn and according to Dutton and Zolho (1990), is characterised by a mild, humid climate, the warm blue waters of the Mozambican channel, a fascinating history, an exotic culture and endless palm-fringed beaches (Ricardo, 2004). For this reason, Inhambane Province is considered the “Holy Mecca” of tourism in Mozambique (Ricardo, 2004: 3).

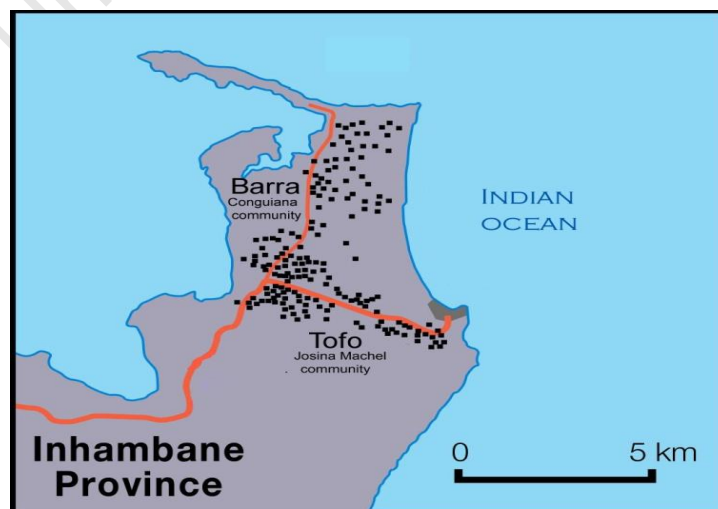


Figure 3.3.2 Map of Inhambane Peninsula highlighting the household sample in Tofo and Barra

According to SNV (2007), Inhambane is a province with the highest rate of poverty in the country; approximately 80% of the population lives in extreme poverty. The Municipality of Inhambane City, which includes the Tofo and Conguiana areas, is located 460 km north of Maputo in Inhambane Bay. It borders the Indian Ocean in the East, Jangamo District in the South and the Maxixe Municipality in the West. Two case studies were identified for this study, namely Tofo and Barra, and both fall under the southern and coastal area of Inhambane Province (Dutton and Zolho, 1990). Figure 3.2 shows the Inhambane Peninsula, where Tofo and Barra are situated. The black dots represent the households surveyed in the area.

3.4.1.1.1 Tofo – Josina Machel community

Tofo, located adjacent to the Tofo beach, has a community called Josina Machel. Tofo is approximately 21 kilometres from Inhambane city and 500 kilometres from Maputo and contains approximately 70% of the province's population (Fiege et al., 2004). Josina Machel is a poor and marginalized community that has been divided into 12 villages/neighbourhoods. It has approximately 1 514 homesteads and covers an area of 27 square kilometres (INE, 2007). These neighbourhoods are not formally divided.

In Tofo, there is prolific underwater flora and fauna with coral reefs, manta rays and whale sharks accounting for some of the most important attractions. Sun, sea and sand are considered the main attractions of the tourism industry in the area (Ferrão, 2005). This area also caters for budget or low-cost to medium class tourist accommodation. According to Fitzpatrick (2007), Tofo was put on the map primarily because of the excellent diving it offers.

In terms of Benefit sharing, there are no attempts to distribute benefits to the local communities in a fair and equitable way. For this reason, this case study informs us of the extent to which local communities benefit from tourism and tourism-associated establishments without targeted interventions. Further, the conflicts between small-scale fishers and the tourism industry are particularly acute in this area, especially in terms of physical access to the coast and use of coral reefs. Using these areas as a case study thus provides a better understanding of the linkages, benefits and losses between the sectors.

3.4.1.1.2 Barra – Conguiana community

Barra, situated in the northern part of the coastal zone of Inhambane, has an adjacent community called Conguiana which is a poor and marginalized community that is divided into six villages and has approximately 774 homesteads. In this area the neighbourhoods are not formally divided.

Barra is a key tourism location characterized by high-end tourism. It has approximately 38 tourism establishments¹ (Nhantumbo, 2009). High-end lodges, which are characterised as having better infrastructure, better service and secluded beaches, are more expensive than other accommodation in adjacent communities. Cruise tourism is one of the fastest growing segments of tourism and Barra is considered a key cruise ship destination in Mozambique (Nhantumbo, 2009). Cruise tourism brought approximately 13 225 visitors to Barra in 2008 (Nhantumbo, 2009). The richness of underwater flora and fauna is another important feature. Fitzpatrick (2007) has pointed out that conditions for scuba diving in Barra are very good. The developments in the tourism sector and the increasing number of divers in the area have created severe conflicts between fishers and divers. This research aimed to further inform the dynamics, benefits and losses between these two sectors.

In terms of Benefit sharing mechanisms in Conguiana, Barra Resorts Group is a group of South African investors who have been established in the area since 1994. This group has attempted to provide some benefits to the local community. These benefits are mainly channelled through ad hoc initiatives that the group believes is their responsibility to implement within the community through targeted Benefit sharing interventions. This group has provided employment and basic services, investment in the community and support for the development of local businesses. This is particularly important in terms of understanding the way communities are benefiting differently from tourism when Benefit sharing interventions are in place.

3.4.1.2 Maputo Province

Gala community is situated approximately 95 km from Maputo. Gala, in the Maputo Province, is a marginalized community located in the buffer zone of the Maputo Elephant

¹ Tourism establishments include lodges and hotels. In general, restaurants, souvenir shops and diving establishments are developed inside these tourism establishments.

Reserve, a national park in Mozambique. Figure 3.3 represents Gala and the black dots represent the households surveyed in the area.

Map of Gala community in the Maputo Province

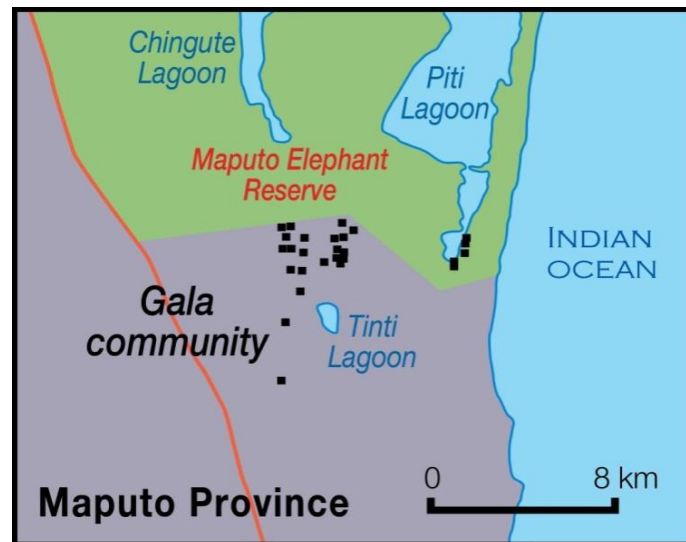


Figure 3.3.3 Map of Gala community in the Maputo Province

3.4.1.2.1 Gala – Gala community

Gala is a poor community with 36 households and approximately 300 people who constitute 33 families (L Dinis 2010, pers. comm.). The village is highly dependent on farming and fishing due to a lack of other employment opportunities. This area was chosen as a case study site because of the Benefit sharing mechanism that exists, represented by a partnership between a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) and the local community. This partnership has implemented two interventions to enhance benefits to the local community, namely a community based tourism lodge and livelihood projects associated with the lodge. The community-based lodge, Tinti Gala, was opened in 2004 with the help of the Swiss NGO Helvetas.

Gala is close to the coast but not adjacent to the sea. For this reason, the tourism sector is mainly based on activities that involve a lagoon as well as cultural and terrestrial-based activities. Management of the lodge was shared between the community and Helvetas in the first years of operation. The shared management emerged from a memorandum of understanding signed between the NGO and the local community represented by a

committee. Presently, however, the lodge is managed entirely by the local community. The residents of the area were involved in the planning, training and development stages of the lodge. Tourism-driven projects and initiatives were developed through the NGO in order to enhance benefits to the local community, such as employment, capacity building, pineapple and honey projects, chicken farms and support to local business development such as handicrafts.

Gala also benefits from a tourism community levy linked to a national park. This levy ensures that local communities benefit from 20% of revenue from fees paid by tourists to enter local parks and reserves. The local community of Gala is adjacent to the Maputo Elephant Park and families have received monetary benefits from the tourism community levy in the area. Presently, Tinti Gala lodge is not functioning optimally and the closure of this community-based lodge will happen if the situation does not change. The reasons behind it will be explained in the following chapters.

3.4.2 Data Collection

3.4.2.1 Household Surveys

For the three case study communities, 244 household surveys were administered (See Appendix Two for household survey). These were piloted prior to the commencement of the research, and questions were adjusted as a result of this feedback. Table 3.1 provides a summary of the number of households that participated in the survey. Household surveys are an important source of socio-economic data (UN, 2005) and produce various types of data through the aggregation of data into different variables and the disaggregation of research information (Dey, 1993; Carvalho and White, 1997). For this research, myriad questions were designed in order to elicit data from different aspects of local communities' lives. The household surveys explored the socioeconomic context of the local communities, the resource use and impacts from a range of sectors, institutional arrangements and decision-making power in the communities, and government rules and Benefit sharing mechanisms in the community (See Appendix Two for household survey). This survey was designed for the broader WIOMSA project that includes South Africa and Mozambique, but was used in this study to understand the social, economic and political issues related to tourism activities and partnerships in the local communities.

Table 3.1 Households and number and percentage of households surveyed in case study sites

Province	Inhambane	Inhambane	Maputo
Community	Josina Machel	Conguiana	Gala
Number of neighbourhoods (M Mutimucuo 2010, pers. comm.)	12	7	1
Number of households in each area (INE, 2007)	1317	774	36
Number of households surveyed in the area	139	72	33
Percentage of households surveyed in the area	11%	9%	92%

For the collection of data, stratified random sampling was used to determine the size sample of the two communities in Inhambane. The purpose of random sampling is to increase the extent to which the sample is representative of the target population (Burns and Grove, 2005). When the sampling is stratified, it means that it is designed to produce more representative, and therefore more accurate, samples than a simple random sampling (De Vaus, 2002).

For the communities of Conguiana and Josina Machel in Inhambane, the researcher used the stratified random sampling in order to determine sample sizes (See Appendix One for calculations). Both communities are adjacent to the coast and fall under the same geographical region but they overlap as there is no clear definition regarding the borderline between the two communities. Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and Google Earth were used to identify borders and household/homesteads within the three communities. Geographical Information Systems played a role in determining the borders of the two communities and Google Earth was used to label and mark all the households/ homesteads in both communities (See Appendix Five for maps). The three case study communities are rural and poor and there is a lack of information and data in relation to households in the area; therefore sampling methodology was defined based on all the information gathered. The labels generated through Google Earth were then entered into Microsoft Excel and a random sample was generated.

Considering that these two communities are the two main strata of the geographical region, primary sampling units were identified through multistage sampling (UN, 2005). In both

communities, the number of villages in each represents the primary sampling units. After the villages (primary sampling units) were identified, second stage units were sampled within each one. These second stage units are the households in each area.

In the Maputo Province, the Gala community was chosen. This community is comprised of only 36 homesteads, so the whole community was sampled, although three homesteads were away during the data gathering process. For this reason, there was no specific sampling methodology applied in this case study.

3.4.2.2 Focus Group Discussions

Fourteen focus group discussions for the three case study sites were held and included people involved in tourism, agriculture, non-timber forest products and fisheries, women involved in different activities, and leadership groups (Dynamizing Group). Focus group discussions were held with small groups of people who share a common characteristic (such as age, gender or occupation), and group members discussed a specific topic among themselves (See Appendix Four for Focus Group Plan).

Focus groups are a very useful qualitative method, providing in-depth information on concepts and perceptions (Porcellato et al., 2006). Focus groups create an informal space that allows conversation to flow more freely, giving space for important issues to arise that are not directed by the researcher. Within these focus group discussions the researcher adopts a more informal and peripheral role than that of an interviewer, mediating the discussion (Ogunbameru, 2003). Therefore, informants may feel less intimidated than in a one-on-one interview.

The main objective of using this method was to explore and gain a greater understanding of the different opinions as well as perspectives from a target group in relation to a specific phenomena or topic under investigation (Hussey and Hussey, 1997). This method also enabled the recording of a wide range of opinions from several informants in a relatively short period of time. Attention was paid to the way in which individuals voice their concerns in these public discussions in order to learn about the social and power dynamics dictating the interaction between individuals. A drawback to this method is that some individuals'

opinions might be silenced as they are influenced by others' responses and they might feel intimidated by the other members (Hussey and Hussey, 1997). The role of the researcher as facilitator is therefore very important to ensure that some participants in the focus group discussion do not dominate or monopolize the discussion. Also it ensures that a high proportion of participants have a chance to be heard.

Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 describe the focus groups and their characteristics and the codes given to each of them in Barra and Tofo respectively.

Table 3.2 Focus groups administered in Barra

FOCUS GROUP	DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS	CODE
Barra Dynamizing Group Focus Group	10 members (i.e. chairperson, representatives of youth and women league and other leaders)	BDGFG 1
Barra Tourism Focus Group 1 People employed in tourism	10 members (i.e. people that are employed in the tourism establishments)	BTFG 1
Barra Tourism Focus Group 2 People benefit from tourism sector	15 members (i.e. people that benefit from the tourism industry but not directly employed)	BTFG 2
Barra Tourism Focus Group 3 People employed at Barra Lodge	13 members (i.e. people that are employed at Barra Lodge)	BTFG 3
Barra Women Focus Group	10 women employed or benefit from fisheries, tourism, agriculture, non-timber forest products sectors	BWFG 1
Barra Agriculture and Non-timber Forest Products Focus Group	18 men and women that are involved with subsistence farming as well as use of non-timber forest products	BANFG 1

Table 3.3 Focus groups administered in Tofo

FOCUS GROUP	DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS	CODE
Tofo Dynamizing Group Focus Group	10 members (i.e. chairperson, representatives of youth and women league and other leaders)	TDGFG 1
Tofo Tourism Focus Group	24 members (i.e. people that are employed as well as people that receive benefits from the tourism sector)	TTFG 1
Tofo Women Focus Group	36 women employed or benefit from fisheries, tourism, agriculture, non-timber forest products sectors	TWFG 1
Tofo Agriculture and Non-timber Forest Products Focus Group	15 men and women that are involved with subsistence farming as well as use of non-timber forest products	TANFG 1

Table 3.4 describes the focus groups, through the description of the number and type of participants as well as the code given to each of the focus groups in Gala.

Table 3.4 Focus groups administered in Gala

FOCUS GROUP	DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS	CODE
Gala Fisheries Focus Group	18 members (i.e. fishers, fish sellers)	GFFG 1
Gala Tourism Focus Group	6 members (i.e. people that are employed as well as people that receive benefits from the tourism sector)	GTFG 1
Gala Women Focus Group	36 women employed or benefit from fisheries, tourism, agriculture, non-timber forest products sectors	GWFG 1
Gala Agriculture and Non-timber Forest Products Focus Group	12 men and women that are involved with subsistence farming as well as use of non-timber forest products	GANFG 1

In terms of the linkages between the tourism and the fisheries sector, two additional focus groups were undertaken in Barra and Tofo. These focus groups involved men and women that are involved with small scale fisheries, fish sellers and members of fishing associations².

For the focus groups, local and traditional structures were contacted to assist in identifying individuals to participate. The criteria for participation in the focus groups included people that are employed or are actively benefitting from a specified sector. Snowball sampling was also used in order to identify participants for the focus groups that were recommended by people with knowledge of the sector. The quality of the results coming from the focus groups depends on having the right people together for the gathering of information (Kitzinger, 1995), and therefore every effort was made to identify appropriate participants. These focus group meetings were held at locations which were equidistant from any neighbourhood or village in the area. The size of the focus groups differed, but facilitation techniques were used to ensure that all the voices were heard. Food and beverages were provided to the community during the focus group discussions by a local caterer.

Focus group meetings were conducted within each community using Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques. Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques describes a growing family of methods and approaches that enable local people to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, and to plan and act (Chambers, 1994). This method requires researchers to follow specific attitudes and behaviours such as showing respect towards interviewees, ensuring a relaxed environment and encouraging researchers to self assess their behaviour critically and continuously (Chambers, 1992). PRA techniques are useful tools when looking at Benefit sharing as they are based on interdisciplinary, exploratory studies that rely heavily on the use of community interaction, and indigenous or traditional knowledge (Poffenberger et al., 1992).

In this study, the PRA techniques used to conduct the focus groups were timelines, mapping and ranking to describe community resource use patterns, and Venn diagrams to identify the institutions and stakeholders involved in the different sections (See Appendix Three for the Focus Group Plan).

² A parallel study was implemented by the broader project which focussed specifically on the artisanal fisheries sector and that the results of that study were drawn on, particularly in relation to the linkages between tourism and fisheries

A timeline is a technique where with the facilitator's help, the community produces a diagram, upon which a history of major events with approximate dates is recorded. Diagrams and discussion of changes may focus on single or multiple issues that have changed over time (Binns and Nel, 1997), therefore providing insight into the history of communities. In the focus groups, a ranking technique was used in conjunction with the timeline. Ranking is a technique used to reveal priorities and preferences as well as to obtain information regarding the relationships between several different criteria (Kinzler and Pederson, 2007). For each focus group, the timeline and the ranking techniques were used in order to obtain information regarding the benefits and losses from the major events that occurred as well as the priorities and preferences in relation to each event. For the ranking, smiley faces (😊) and sad faces (😞) were used. See Figure 3.4 for an explanation of how benefits and losses are ranked in Barra.

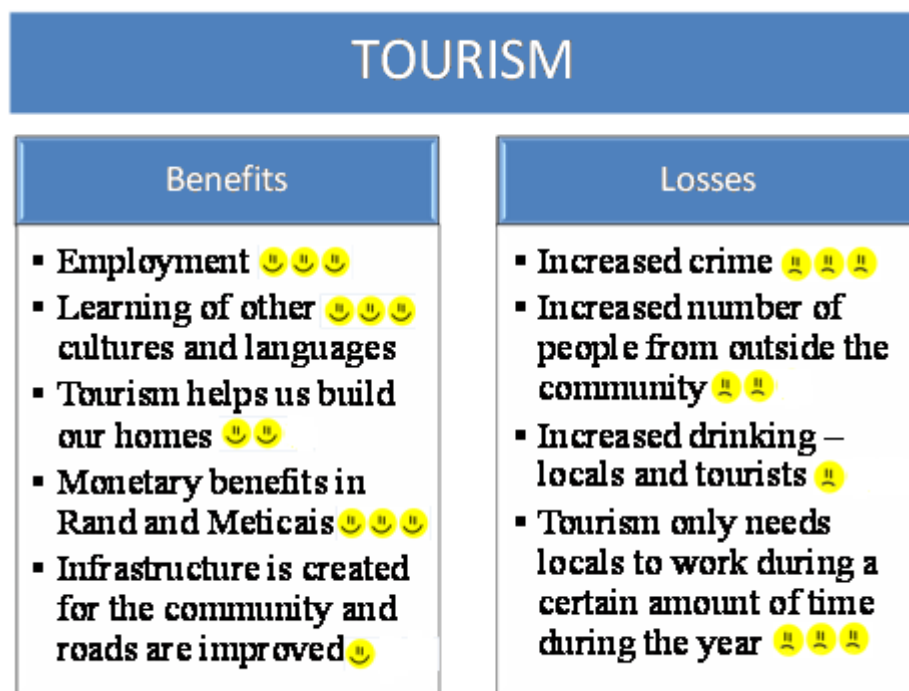


Figure 3.3.4 Example of ranking benefits and losses during the focus groups

Lastly, Venn diagrams were created in order to understand the role of institutions or individuals as well as their importance in relation to decision-making (See Figure 3.5). In general, circles or stars were used to represent individuals or institutions. The different sizes of the circles or shapes represented each individual's/institution's degree of importance in decision-making. Overlapping of two shapes indicates interaction of individuals and

institutions. Individuals or institutions that do not overlap indicate that there is no direct relationship between them (Kienzler and Pederson, 2007). This method is useful in that it shows how rural people communicate and interact with the rest of the community and other governmental and non-governmental institutions (Kienzler and Pederson, 2007).

The Venn diagrams were discussed in Portuguese. The labels of the Venn diagrams are in English because they were translated after the focus groups for the purpose of documentation.



Figure 3.3.5 Venn Diagram of Tofo community

2.4.2.3 Key Informant Interviews

For the three case study communities, 33 key informant interviews were conducted to provide further insights into and analytical depth on particular issues (See Appendix Three for Key Informant Interview Questions). In individual semi-structured interviews, questions were open, exploratory, focused on meaning and steered by the interviewees to a certain extent to facilitate conversation and allow the informants to expand upon the topic with their own views. Interviews are very useful tools that help the researcher to understand “how individuals perceive, organize, give meaning to and express their understandings of

themselves, their experiences and their worlds” (Mishler cited by Kiesling, 2000). In order to gather critical information regarding the overarching context of the Mozambican tourism industry, key informant interviews were conducted with government, NGOs (national and international), and individuals from the local community involved with the tourism sector. A broader view on the tourism industry helped develop and explore the context and issues to be addressed for the investigation of Benefit sharing arrangements in coastal communities. Key informant interviews were the last method to be used, and helped to fill gaps in information identified in the focus group discussions as well as household surveys.

In order to conduct key informant interviews inside the local communities, two non-probability sampling techniques were used, namely purposive sampling and the snowball sampling approach. Snowball sampling is defined as a technique for finding research subjects. For instance, the researcher will gain information through one subject/individual, who will refer the name of another subject/individual, who in turn will provide the name of a third individual and so on (Vogt, 1999). This technique was used to gather background information regarding the status and trends in tourism in Mozambique. Snowballing is indeed a good technique for this purpose as it offers practical advantages if the aim of the study is primarily explorative, qualitative and descriptive (Hendricks and Blanken, 1992). The second technique used was purposive sampling, which entails finding respondents who have an understanding about a particular topic that is being researched (Schutt, 2006). The community and particular key informants were asked to point out knowledgeable and reliable informants in terms of specific sectors and issues that we were gathering information on. According to Schutt (2006), this sampling technique is useful when doing a case study on an organization, local community or any well-defined and reasonably restricted group.

Key-informant interviews were conducted with a range of stakeholders representing the different sectors such as tourism lodge owners, employees of diving schools; fishers and fish sellers for the fisheries sector; basket, palm wine and macuti³ sellers for agriculture and non-timber forest products; government and conservation officials at the local level as well as non-governmental organizations and government officials at district level. Table 3.5 and Table 3.6 provide a summary and codes of the key informant interviews.

³ Macuti is a building material made of coconut leaves. It is mainly used to cover the roofs of the houses.

Table 3.5 Inhambane Province key informant interviews

	KEY INFORMANT	CODE		KEY INFORMANT	CODE
1	Inhambane Tourism Government Representative	ITGRKI 1	13	Tofo Macuti Seller	TMSKI 1
2	Inhambane Tourism NGO 1 AMAR	INGOKI 1	14	Tofo Traditional Authority representative	TTAKI 1
3	Inhambane Tourism NGO 2 ALMA	INGOKI 2	15	Tofo Traditional Healer	TTHKI 1
4	Inhambane Tourism NGO 1 SNV	INGOKI 3	16	Barra Authority Representative	BARKI 1
5	Tofo Authority Representative	TARKI 1	17	Barra Tourism establishment manager 1	BTMKI 1
6	Tofo Tourism establishment manager 1	TTMKI 1	18	Barra Tourism establishment manager 2	BTMKI 2
7	Tofo Tourism establishment manager 2	TTMKI 2	19	Barra Tourism Establishment Diving 1	BTDKI 1
8	Tofo Tourism Establishment Diving 1	TTDKI 1	20	Barra Fish Seller	BFSKI 1
9	Tofo Tourism Beneficiary 1	TTBKI 1	21	Barra Basket Seller	BBSKI 1
10	Tofo Fish Seller 1	TFSKI 1	22	Barra Macuti Seller	BMSKI 1
11	Tofo Fish Seller 2	TFSKI 2	23	Barra Traditional Authority representative	BTAKI 1
12	Tofo Basket Seller 1	TBSKI 1	24	Barra Traditional Healer	BTHKI 1

Table 3.6 Maputo Province key informant interviews

	KEY INFORMANT	CODE		KEY INFORMANT	CODE
1	Maputo Tourism NGO 1 LUPA	MNGOKI 1	6	Gala Fisheries Authority Representative 1	GFAKI 1
2	Gala Authority Representative	GARKI 1	7	Gala Fisher 1	GFSKI 1
3	Gala Traditional Authority Representative	GTAKI 1	8	Gala Fish Seller 2	GFSKI 2
4	Gala Traditional Healer	GTHKI 1	9	Gala Palm wine Seller 1	TBSKI 1
5	Gala Conservation Authority Representative	GCAKI 1			

In the case studies, the interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis with different stakeholders involved in the different sectors. These interviews were intended to gather in-depth information from knowledgeable informants in terms of use of resources, benefits and losses, links between fisheries and tourism, policies and laws as well as power dynamics in order to understand how local communities benefit from the sharing of resources. Key

informant interviews were collected from the local communities and government at different levels such as provincial and local as well as NGOs and traditional structures.

3.4.3 Data capturing and Analysis

The data obtained from the household survey was computerized using both Microsoft Access and Excel. Microsoft Access was used in the initial stage for data entry and data processing. At a later stage, Microsoft Excel was used in order to analyse quantitative data and present descriptive statistics, tables and graphs.

Collection of data for analysis is referred to as coding and there are three types of analysis, namely open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). For the purpose of this study, household surveys, focus groups and key-informants interviews were compared and triangulated through open coding.

Open coding is “the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data” (Corbin and Strauss, 1996:101). Open coding allows the researcher to examine group data in categories. Once data is categorized, relationships between the different variables are analysed, focusing on similarities and differences. Categories may be added by literature; however these have to be grounded in reality. Open coding involves the recurrent comparison and breakdown of the data, which ensures neutrality and objectivity (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In this research, open coding was used for the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data.

For the qualitative data from focus groups and key informant interviews, the data was entered in Microsoft Word. At a later stage, this data was copied into Microsoft OneNote where tabs were created with the three case study sites and sub-tabs were created for insertion of data from focus groups and interviews. One sub-tab corresponds to one interview. Each interview was given a code. On an initial assessment of data, it was possible to find recurrent themes. These themes were given a name and a colour and data from focus groups and key-informant interviews were separated into these different themes through the use of highlights and memos.

3.5 Limitations

There were a number of limitations encountered in the research process. Firstly, in the scoping phase, it was difficult to find case studies where there had been an attempt to enable communities to benefit from tourism in Mozambique. Secondly, the education levels of the participants in this study were low, so the questions had to be simplified during the research at case study level. Thirdly, there were constraints with linguistic diversity as the main languages in the local communities were Bitonga in Inhambane Province and Zulu in the Maputo Province. This was countered by the use of local research assistants and translators who were fluent in both Portuguese and the specific local language. Fourthly, some of the participants of this research were expecting some kind of financial remuneration in return for their involvement in the study and once they realized there was none there were some withdrawals from the study. Attempts were made to explain the benefits of this research for the local community but decisions of the community members towards their participation or withdrawal from the study were respected.

3.6 Ethical considerations

This research project involves human subjects and, given the fact that the focus of the research is the informants' own experiences and perceptions, they made substantial personal contributions to this thesis. Therefore, there were some ethical issues that needed to be taken into account during (and after) this research. Local understanding and practices were respected at all times and the nature and goal of the research was clearly outlined and clarified to informants. Although the researcher speaks fluent Portuguese, additional expertise in local languages was important. Consent was given by informants prior to the research as well as at particular ceremonies or meetings. The researcher attended meetings with the leadership groups called *Dynamizing Groups* in Josina Machel and Conguiana, and attended a meeting with the local community in Gala in order to obtain consent prior to the research being conducted. All participants in the research were given the opportunity to withdraw from the research at any time, they could remain anonymous and they were not expected to answer any questions that made them uncomfortable. Pseudonyms were used to ensure that results from the research were not detrimental to them personally. As an objective of the broader WIOMSA project, in order to ensure that the local community would benefit from this study, research assistants were hired locally to participate in the research and a local caterer provided food. Feedback on this research was given orally as well as in the form

of printed policy briefs and posters for the local community. The community's contribution was also incorporated into final documents produced for the broader WIOMSA project.

3.7 Summary

A grounded theory approach guided this research. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to gather empirical data. Over a period of two years, 244 household questionnaires, 14 focus group discussions and 33 key informant interviews were administered in the three communities. Household surveys were administered in the three case study sites in order to generate socio-economic data and broader information in terms of resource use, benefits and losses, institutions and institutional arrangements and power dynamics. Focus groups incorporated PRA techniques in order to explore in-depth ideas and concepts regarding sectors, livelihood strategies and decision-making power as well as participants' perceptions on benefits and losses. Key informant interviews were used to address the gaps and follow-up questions and provided in-depth information that was useful for exploring concepts as well as confirmation of data previously gathered through other research methods. Coding was used during data analysis and all methods were triangulated in order to provide a more in-depth understanding of the data collected. Upon completion of this thesis, information will be fed back to local communities in the three case study sites as a way to ensure that information is shared.

Chapter 4 Tourism and Benefit sharing in Mozambique

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the historical and policy context for tourism in Mozambique. The first Portuguese explorers reached Mozambique in the early 1500s. By the early 20th century, there was a shift in the administration of Mozambique from the Portuguese to mainly private companies that were controlled and financed by England. Under this regime, Mozambicans were forced to work in South Africa, a British colony at the time (Newitt, 1995). During this time, policies in the country mainly benefited the Portuguese and little or almost no attention was given to the political, social and economic situation of the country. Mozambique became independent in 1975, through the struggle of local communities and campaigns initiated against the Portuguese by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). Post-independence, Mozambique was faced with a civil war that left the country completely destroyed (Newitt, 1995). This chapter evaluates the present status of tourism in Mozambique, was evaluated and describes the formal legal and administrative processes through which rights over natural resources are secured.

4.2. Historical context of tourism in Mozambique

Colonials emerged in Mozambique in 1498, when Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese sailor, reached Mozambique en route to India. The Portuguese repressive system of indirect rule established restricted settlement areas for indigenous people living on the coasts. During the 19th century, Portugal began the process of colonization, but faced resistance from the indigenous people. By means of wealth and weapons, the Portuguese established control over the country by 1917 and in 1926 the administration of Mozambique was under a new regime. Companies that were settled in the area lost their rights to manage their own regions and indigenous people were forced to work on the construction of railroads as well as on European-owned plantations (Newitt, 1995).

One of the most important colonial policies was assimilation, whereby indigenous people were given the same rights as the Portuguese if they became Christian, learned Portuguese and “were of a good character” (Newitt, 1995). The educational skills of local communities at

this time were very limited and therefore only a few people attained the status of “*assimilado*” (assimilated). In 1951, the status of the country was changed from “colony” or “*colónia*” to “overseas province” or “*província*”, as in this way the New Regime was emphasizing that Portugal, and the African territories it conquered, formed a single indivisible country.

During colonial times a dual system of administration was used by the Portuguese when rights allocations over natural resources were made. For the Portuguese settlers and the assimilated, modern legal systems were used, but for the indigenous people, rights were defended through informal customary laws by the highest authority in the traditional institution, the traditional authority (Meneses, 2004). The traditional authority was allowed by the Portuguese system to assign land to indigenous people; however indigenous people could be evicted from their allocated land at any time (Allen, 2005 cited by Johnstone, 2011).

The first tourism and information centres were established in April 1959 under the colonial regime (MITUR, 2010). The main intention was to provide and promote information as well as to support, co-ordinate, facilitate and develop all aspects of tourism (Spence, 1963 cited by Ricardo, 2004). During this time, municipalities and private operators were the main stakeholders running tourism and the first information centres for tourists were created. According to FTTSA (2009), in 1962, the first 18 tourism zones were established and delineated based on general consensus of the relative importance of the attractions of each zone.

In 1964, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) started the war of liberation in the country (Mubai, 2006). During this decade, there was a substantial growth in the tourism sector that had almost ceased due to the initiation of the war in Mozambique. By 1972, more tourism zones were created, making a total of 26 tourism areas around the country. According to MITUR (2010), accommodation such as hotels, hostels, inns and boarding houses employed approximately 4 200 people and received 285 000 guests until right before Independence. Most of the guests were from South Africa (86 982) and Zimbabwe (28 184) and a few from Portugal. (MITUR, 2010). The main attractions were the beautiful beaches, the flora and fauna as well as the vibrant environment offered by the urban centres (MITUR, 2004 cited by Mubai, 2006).

After independence in 1975, there was a decline in national tourism activity, most likely due to the difficult economic and political relationship between Mozambique and the countries that constituted the main tourism market, namely white-ruled South Africa and Zimbabwe (MITUR, 2010). In addition, there was a lack of technical support to design and manage the tourism sector and the armed conflict destroyed tourist infrastructure and flora and fauna and blocked access, communication and transportation systems (FTTSA, 2009). The exodus of white settlers in 1976 caused a substantial negative impact as they controlled key sectors of Mozambique's economy, including tourism (Mubai, 2006). Infrastructure that could support the tourism sector, such as roads, ports, hotels, airports and railways was also destroyed. Thus, the civil war not only destroyed the market for tourism but also Mozambique's tourism infrastructure (Christie, 2004).

After independence in 1975, the main concern for the Mozambican government was the economic expansion of the country, and agriculture was seen to be central to promoting this development. The new government nationalized all natural resources. Tourism was extremely limited and during the 1980s, and beginning of the 1990s, missions from international agencies were the main contributors to tourism. During this time, the country suffered radical changes in terms of political regimes. In 1977, Mozambique was under a Marxist-Leninist regime. At the end of the 1980s, the new government adopted a more socialist regime (Pitcher, 2002 cited by Mubai, 2006). The name of the country was changed to the Republic of Mozambique and a one party system was established.

Post-independence, in the late 1970s, the new policies imposed by FRELIMO were not well accepted. People believed these policies to be racially discriminatory with forced labour, originally imposed by the Portuguese, being replaced by the "herding" of peasants into communal villages on collective state farms (Newitt, 1995). FRELIMO was aggressively opposed by the Mozambique Resistance Force (RENAMO), a party funded mainly by Rhodesia and South Africa. Rhodesia became Zimbabwe through the independence of the country and therefore South Africa became the main sponsor of RENAMO. Between 1974 and 1983, RENAMO rebellions destroyed the economic and social infrastructure of the country. In the face of this situation, President Machel signed an agreement between South Africa and Mozambique called the Nkomati Non-aggression Agreement in 1984, which meant that financial aid would be provided for Mozambique and RENAMO's activity would be reduced. In return, South Africa would obtain FRELIMO's commitment to prevent the

ANC from using Mozambique as a refuge country to pursue its campaign to cause the downfall of the white minority in South Africa. At this time, it was believed that Mozambique had the status as one of the most preferred tourism destinations among South African tourists (Newitt, 1995). The war lasted 16 years, from 1976 to 1992 (Mubai, 2006) and Mozambique was regarded as an unsafe place for tourists as the Nkomati Agreement did not end the hostilities in the country.

The 1990s marked the end of the civil war. After the war, the Government of Mozambique adopted Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). These World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) driven-programmes were a pre-condition for financial assistance that created conditions for the rapid recovery and expansion of the tourism sector. In Mozambique, SAP brought economic stability and introduced global markets. However tensions emerged between local communities governed under traditional rules and new investors and claimants to natural resources who wanted to invest in the country (Johnstone, 2011). At this stage Mozambique ranked among the poorest countries in the world. Research on tourism during this time was almost non-existent (Mubai, 2006); studies on tourism emerged only in the 1990s.

In 1992, FRELIMO and RENAMO signed a peace agreement and under the new constitution. Mozambique changed to a multi-party political system. The tourism sector began its revitalization during this decade and many hotels, lodges and guesthouses re-opened their doors. The so-called tourists at the beginning of the 1990s were mainly aid workers, staff of United Nations as well as NGOs in charge of the implementation of cease-fire (Mubai, 2006). Despite the richness of culture and fauna of the country, sun and sea tourism were the most popular types of tourism practiced in Mozambique.

In 1994, elections were held and FRELIMO defeated RENAMO by a slim margin. Between 1995 and 1999, the government programme recognized tourism as a sector well suited to maximizing the entrance of capital and generation of jobs, strengthening regional development and distributing the respective benefits to all the zones of the country. In 1998, approximately 140 tourism projects had been approved, totalling an amount of US\$900 million (MITUR, 2010).

By the late 1990s, tourism was considered the fastest growing sector of the Mozambican economy (Europa Publications, 2004). The National Tourism Fund (*Fundo Nacional do Turismo*) was created in order to promote and finance tourism development. Tourist guidebooks providing information about the country's attractions and general travelling tips regarding accommodation and contacts started to emerge such as *The African Adventures Guide to Mozambique, Maputo* and *Moçambique Guia Turístico, Guide to Mozambique, Mozambique and Eastern and Southern Africa: the backpacker's guide* (Mubai, 2006).

In 2001, the Mozambican government produced a framework for economic development called PARPA - Action Plan for Absolute Poverty Reduction (Républica de Moçambique, 2001). PARPA highlighted as focal points the need to address poverty reduction and job creation. According to Van Empel et al. (2006), this policy highlights local economic development as one of the most important strategies for reducing poverty, through the creation of jobs and building of local capacity. In particular, the Mozambican government identified tourism as an instrument to promote local economic development (Spenceley, 2008) and growth (Jones and Ibrahim, 2008). Worldwide, funding agencies and governments have been eager to accept tourism as a tool for poverty reduction (Ashe, 2005). In this action plan, tourism is also recognized as a tool for poverty reduction because it is a sector that is labour intensive and has the capacity to adapt to economic world crises. The plan also emphasized the significance of natural resources (i.e. pristine beaches, coral reefs) as main attractions for international tourism in Mozambique (Johnstone, 2011). For local communities, PARPA recognized the importance of land tenure security and the need for communities to participate in decisions about the land allocation process, especially for tourism investment.

4.3 Present status of tourism in Mozambique

Mozambique is presently a country with tremendous potential to promote and develop the tourism industry. The combination of pristine areas, tropical beaches and sunny landscapes, the diverse cultural and cosmopolitan city life and a rich and diversified flora and fauna make Mozambique a fascinating country to visit. Once the rebuilding of the country after the war was on course, all these elements attracted the attention of the government to consider tourism as one of the main driving forces of poverty reduction and economic development in Mozambique.

In 2002, according to MITUR (2010), Mozambique attracted 900 000 tourists who contributed 1.2% of the GDP. Mubai (2006) adds that tourism became the third highest investment sector in Mozambique with an investment of US\$ 1.3 billion. One of the main reasons that facilitated the movement of visitors and tourists was the introduction of the visa at the border (Sumbana, 2008). Previously, visitors had to apply months beforehand for a visa at the Mozambican embassies or consulates in their countries. Presently, tourists can obtain the visa at the border or airport, which facilitates movement of tourists into the region. Mozambique is the first country in Southern Africa to do this. The building of the Maputo Development Corridor, which runs from Witbank in Mpumalanga (South Africa) to Maputo, is another important milestone in the revitalization of tourism. This corridor has allowed the majority of foreign tourists to enter Mozambique by road, which accounts for approximately 88% of all tourism (Kiambo, 2005 cited by Mubai, 2006; Jones, 2008). The World Trade Organization has suggested that tourism growth in Southern Africa is going to reach 36 million foreign tourists by 2020 and Mozambique will welcome over four million visitors per year (Sumbana, 2008).

According to MITUR (2010), the evolution of tourism in Mozambique over the last couple of years has shown remarkable development in terms of revenues, arrival of visitors, endorsed investments as well as the capacity to provide accommodation.

Table 4.1 Revenues, arrival of visitors, approved investments and expansion of the capacity to provide accommodation (Sumbana, 2008).

	2004	2005	2006	2007
Revenues (in millions of US\$)	95.3	129.6	139.7	163.4
Arrival of visitors	711 060	954 434	1 095 000	977 201
Approved investments (in US\$)	67 159	83 690	604 252	977 201
Capacity to provide accommodation (number of beds)	13 807	14 827	15 740	17 035

Table 4.1 shows the evolution of these variables from 2004-2007⁴. According to Sumbana (2008), the investment in tourism in the country created opportunities for the expansion of accommodation as well as in the quality of the tourism establishments. These facts provide a competitive advantage in the international and regional tourism markets.

In 2008, the tourism industry around the world was hit by a global economic crisis and the growth rate of the travel and tourism industries slowed its pace by one per cent (Papatheodorou et al., 2010). In terms of investment, Mozambique registered a decline of 40% in tourism between 2008 and 2009 (TIM, 2010). In 2009, many scholars predicted that the tourism sector, affected previously by the global recession, was going to stabilize. In fact, Fernando Sumbana, the Minister of Tourism, in an interview in the Portuguese newspaper OJE, pointed out that the tourism sector in Mozambique grew 16% in 2009 and it recorded investments of the order of 222.5 million Euros (TIM, 2010). Johnstone (2011) has pointed out that external investment is one of the most important factors that influenced the uncontrolled growth of tourism in Mozambique. There are three very important tourism groups that are investing money in Mozambique: Rani Resorts from the Emirates and Pestana and Visabeira Groups, both from Portugal (Sumbana, 2008).

4.4 Overview of role players involved with tourism in Mozambique

This chapter presents the role and responsibilities of the institutions at national, provincial and local level involved in decision making as well as use and access to marine and coastal resources. See Table 4.2 provides a description of the institutions and their respective roles and responsibilities.

At the national level, there are three main institutional structures that influence and guide tourism development in Mozambique. First, the Ministry of Tourism (MITUR) was established in 2000. The objectives that MITUR established for the development of tourism in Mozambique indicate a recognition of the need to promote tourism and at the same time alleviate poverty, create employment opportunities, boost foreign investment and exchange earning and reduce pressure on the environment. Local communities are at the centre of these objectives as they are recognized as the prime beneficiaries. Second, the National Tourism

⁴ An attempt to find updated figures was not successful and this is the most recent data available online.

Fund ensures that the benefits are felt at local level through training and financial contribution of infrastructure for tourism. Third, the Centre for Promotion of Investment encourages private and foreign investors to benefit local communities in the area in which they want to invest. At provincial level, the municipal council and the provincial directorate of tourism are the two main bodies that represent the government. Enforcement of the law and creation and approval of new projects are among some of the objectives of these bodies at the provincial level (See Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Role players and their roles and responsibilities at national and provincial spheres

Level	Role players	Role and responsibility
National	Ministry of Tourism	Responsible for the Administration, direction, planning and execution of policies in terms of: (1) tourism-related activities; (2) tourism and hotel industry; and (3) related activities (i.e. conservation areas)
	National Tourism Fund	Responsible for the promotion of the development of tourism; design of tourism promotion programmes and ensure their execution; stimulate activities that are related to tourism; Skills training will lead to an increase of technical level and knowledge, in order to promote tourism; and contribute financially for building of tourism infrastructure.
	Center for Promotion of Investment	Responsible for facilitating, encouraging and promoting investment into Mozambique by providing information to potential investors, as well as helping them to register companies, obtain licenses and work permits and to find business partners.
Provincial	Municipal Council	Responsible for holding executive power at the provincial level
	Provincial Directorate of Tourism	Representatives of the Government at the province level and responsible for ensuring that tourism follows the policies and laws determined by the Government

Source: Key Informant Interviews, 2011; MITUR, 2010;

At local level, a number of role players are important in the development of tourism, such as community-authorities, non-governmental organizations and the private sector (Table 4.3). Historically, FRELIMO banned traditional authorities after independence. Years later, in the process of building a postcolonial state, the government started formally recognizing

traditional authorities, a difficult process because they have a history of political affiliation with the opposition party RENAMO (Serrano, 2002). Local people recognized both Secretaries of Neighbourhoods and Traditional Authorities as important institutional structures for local communities (Cau, 2004; Johnstone, 2011). For this reason, in the post-independence period, the recognized community authorities included traditional authorities or chiefs (régulos) and Secretaries of neighbourhoods (Secretário do Bairro) (Decree 11/2005 cited by Johnstone, 2011).

Table 4.3 Role players and their roles and responsibilities at the local level

Level	Role players	Role and responsibility
Local	Secretaries of neighbourhoods	Responsible for addressing local issues and conflicts as an "entry point" for the community and consultation meetings
	Traditional Authorities	Responsible for maintenance of harmony and peace in the community, management of land, collection of taxes, census taking, prevention of epidemics, control of illegal hunting, fires and fishing and preservation of physical and cultural heritage
	Dynamizing groups	Responsible for addressing local issues, policing, ensuring security inside the community, legal questions, administration and regulation
	Non-Governmental Organizations	Responsible for channelling a portion of the aid from foreign donors and an important role in strengthening democratic governance at the local level
	Private sector	From international companies managing tourism establishments, to bed and breakfasts managed by families, to community guides providing tours in tourism destinations, the private sector is the main investor in tourism in Mozambique

The traditional authority holds the local power and is mainly responsible for law and order (Johnstone, 2011), but traditional authorities in the rural communities continue being ruled by

hereditary processes, so there is no democratic system where the communities can decide on their leader. Accountability of the traditional authorities has been an important issue, especially concerning the increased number of investments in the tourism sector (Johnstone, 2001). Traditional authorities have a history of benefiting from external investment, encouraged by the Portuguese (Serrano, 2002; Tanner, 2006). For the tourism industry, traditional authorities have played the role of “gate keeper” to new investors as they are capable of bringing local community support. The process of consultation with the community, however, is not specified in legislation and there has been a history of dishonest investors who have used tensions between the community and local structures for personal gain (Johnstone, 2011).

4.5 Overview of policy and laws in Mozambique

This section will provide an analytical discussion of the policies and laws that either facilitate or impede equitable Benefit sharing in Mozambique. In 1990, Mozambique adopted a new Constitution. This was followed by the signing of the Peace Agreement between FRELIMO and RENAMO in 1992. Since then there has been a rapid change in the legislation regarding ownership and rights of use of marine and coastal resources. In the Mozambican legislation, there are three key areas in which policies and laws influence tourism, namely land, coastal and marine resource and direct tourism policies.

4.5.1 Land

The framework in the Mozambican government for controlling the right to use and benefits from land resources is determined by the Land Law (Law 19/1997). The formal process by which rights over marine and coastal resources are gained, secured and transferred is through the Land Law. According to the Land Law, local communities should be consulted in the process; however in the majority of cases, tourism operators in the major destinations have been allocated land without consent being given by local communities. Nhampossa (2006) argues that power relations are one of the most important factors that determine the way land resources are accessed and administrated as private interests overpower the rights of the rightful owners of the land, the local communities. Figure 4.1 describes the Land Law and Regulation that was promulgated in Mozambique in 1997.

Land Law (Law 19/1997)

All land belongs to the state and consequently all forms of buying or selling of land are permitted. Promotes the rights of local communities that include the devolution of power and autonomy over the land as well as natural resources. In the process of giving concessions of land to tourism operators, local communities should be consulted.

Regulations (Decree 66/1998)

Article 1

The transfer of land is made possible through the selling of “useful improvements” made to the land or through the selling of company assets as shares.

Box 4.1: Land Law in Mozambique

The formal legal system in Mozambique has integrated informal traditional practices and customary laws (Johnstone, 2011). Under customary law, which included in the new land law, individuals and their families own legal rights to the land through occupation by custom or good faith or award (Ferrão, 2005). A pre-condition for land acquisition is consultation with the traditional leader (régulo) who is the traditional authority in charge of overseeing land resource allocations. In Mozambique, land is the property of the state and cannot be sold. Interested parties have to apply for a concession called a DUAT which gives the right to use the land and benefit from it.

Norfolk and Liversage (2001) suggest that the consultation processes entails negotiation between the local community and a private investor in order to establish conditions for assigning land to an applicant. Community consultations are perceived by the Government of Mozambique as primary mechanisms that are able to secure the right of use of resources (de Wit et al., 2003 cited by Johnstone, 2011). One of the primary criticisms of the law is that it is not specific on how local consultative meetings should be carried out (Johnstone, 2011). For many tourism investors, these meetings are troublesome or time consuming whereas they should be regarded as a mechanism to build long term agreements and relationships with the local community (Norfolk, 2006).

A mechanism that allows local rights to be collectively identified and grouped within a specific community is called delimitation which involves mapping of the area by the local

communities, where they define themselves and their borders with neighbouring communities. The other process that secures the right of use is demarcation, which results in a DUAT or a title document being issued to the community (Johnstone, 2011). Securing rights of land-based resources includes all aquatic resources such as "the seabed of the interior water, the territorial sea and the exclusive economic zone" (Land Law, 1997, Art. 8 and 22 cited by Johnstone, 2011). The critique is that legislation over marine and coastal resources is not fully incorporated into laws relating to land resources (Glazewski, 2005 cited by Johnstone, 2011).

4.5.2 Marine and Coastal Resources

The framework in Mozambique for controlling the right over use of, and benefits from, marine and coastal resources is determined under the Forestry and Wildlife law (Law 19/1999).

Under this law, commercial rights to land-based resources such as tourism can be secured through a license and a management plan or concession. There are three basic requirements that should be fulfilled during negotiations for a concession namely, ensuring proper community consultation prior to the establishment of operations, benefits to local communities have to be described in detail in licenses and concessions and lastly, communities should be part of a contract agreement (Law 10/1999). In this process, the government is in charge of promoting social responsibility between the different stakeholders involved in the process and reimbursing 20% of taxes accruing from concessions to the local communities in the area where concessions have been given (Salomão and Matose, 2006) as stipulated in both Forestry and Wildlife law as well as subsequent tourism regulations of 2005 (cited by Johnstone, 2011). Figure 4.2 describes the forestry and wildlife law and regulation promulgated in 1999 by the Government of Mozambique.

Forestry and Wildlife Law (Law 10/99)

Addresses the role of communities in resource management and recognizes their right to benefit from the sustainable use of the natural resources. Recognizes and protects areas of use which have cultural and historic importance. A percentage of the values resulting from the exploration fees are dedicated to the benefit of the resident local communities in the respective exploration areas.

Regulation 12/2002

Procedures on community consultation process

Allocates 20% of taxes collected from the exploitation of the forestry resources to the local communities

Failure of private investors to fulfil agreements regarding community benefits are not considered as an infraction

Box 4.2: Forestry and Wildlife in Mozambique

4.5.3 Fishing

In Mozambique, the use and rights over marine and coastal resources are promoted through permits and licenses. Fishing licenses can be allocated for different fishing practices (i.e. sports and recreational fishing, semi-industrial, artisanal, industrial, and experimental) and they are not transferable between fishers. This is different to land-based resources, which are owned by the State and can be transferred through a title deed to a third party (Johnstone, 2011). Fishing licenses that allow resources to be exploited are paid for a specific period of time and purpose. Fishing rights of local communities are recognized for subsistence purposes (Law 3/90 Art. 2). Subsistence fishing is often associated with artisanal fishing in Mozambique because fishers prefer to apply for artisanal fishing permits in order to feed their families. However, if there is a demand for fish and a willingness to pay a fair price for the fish caught, artisanal fishers sell the resource they catch. Figure 4.3 describes the fisheries law and marine fisheries regulations that were promulgated by the Government of Mozambique.

Fisheries Law (3/1990)

Fishery resource is defined as an “Aquatic species, animals or plants, having the water as normal or frequent habitat and which are object of fishing activities or aquaculture”. Subsistence fishing rights are recognized for all Mozambican citizens. Fishing licenses cannot be bought and sold among fishers.

The fishery resources in waters under Mozambique jurisdiction belong to the public domain, and the State is responsible for regulating the conditions for their use and exploitation.

Marine Fisheries Regulation (Decree 43/2003)

In marine national parks all fishing activities are prohibited, including subsistence fishing. Reserves and marine protected areas are subject to restrictions that allow subsistence fishing as well as sport and recreational fishing. Tourism fishers are not permitted to commercialize their product and can export six kg after a certificate has been issued by the District Department of Agriculture.

Box 4.3: Fisheries Law in Mozambique

Johnstone (2011) has pointed out that the Fishery Law does not protect local users of marine and coastal resources from tourism-based activities, and tourism-based stakeholders are not required to consult with local communities and fishers, develop management plans or discuss and distribute benefits derived from tourism in protected areas. This law allows recreational and sports fishing and scuba diving and snorkelling inside protected areas yet at the same time local fishers have restrictions on activities that are mainly associated with their survival strategies. Johnstone (2011) argues that non-compliance by local fishers with rules, especially inside protected areas and reserves, can be a result of the benefits that tourism-based activities have over artisanal fishing in these areas. Also, this law does not recognize customary ownership of marine and coastal resources or good faith in the utilization of resources for more than 10 years (Johnstone, 2011). Equitable distribution of benefits from marine and coastal resources is definitely one factor that the Government of Mozambique is trying to incorporate into legislation as well as securing rights of use and access to these resources by the local community.

4.5.4 Tourism

There are key policies that have been instrumental in developing tourism in Mozambique. Figure 4.4 describes the policy and legislation of the tourism sector in Mozambique.

TOURISM	
<p>Tourism Law (Law 4/2004 of 17 June)</p> <p>The Law specifically promotes sustainable, low-impact tourism, requiring that tourism investments be well-integrated within the area in which they are placed Law 4/2004 (Article 7)</p> <p>Tourism regulations (Diploma 93/2005)</p> <p>Requires that at the beginning of the process of identifying the natural resources where tourism is to take place, a management committee (comite de gestao) should be promoted and registered with the district administration or local administrative post. The committee should engage with the applicants, tourism operators, NGOs, associations and interested parties to undertake a program of consultation with the community</p> <p>The committee is expected to oversee the process of consultation, set up a bank account with three members of the community and the payments should be made quarterly</p> <p>Decree 18/2007</p> <p>The community consultations required for the development of tourism accommodation in conservation areas must be carried out in accordance with the procedures established in the land legislation</p> <p>Provisions to determine whether or not the proposed development will affect the socio-economic structure of the affected community</p> <p>National Tourism Policy and Strategy (2004)</p> <p>General principle of Tourism Policy states that when properly managed, tourism enhances economic viability of protected areas and lessens pressure on the environment</p> <p>Strategic Plan for the Development of Tourism (2004) identified 18 national priority areas, 10 of which are concentrated on MCRs.</p>	<p>Resolution 14/2003 of 04 April</p> <p>Sets out the objective to make tourism an engine of economic growth, providing opportunities for employment and thus being a key economic driver (Paragraph 3)</p> <p>The Policy envisages tourism bringing benefits such as income generation, employment, conservation, investment, infrastructure growth, prestige and growth of small business (Paragraph 3)</p> <p>General principles of the Tourism Policy include the need to: develop a favourable legal framework; recognize the private sector as a driving force in the sector; establish standards; develop skills; and ensure sustainable practice (Paragraph 5)</p> <p>Preservation of conservation areas, development of skills and training, and community involvement (Paragraph 7)</p> <p>Resolution 45/2006 of 26 December</p> <p>Sets the Tourism Marketing Strategy and highlights cultural tourism as the niche tourism areas which Mozambique should be seeking to promote (Paragraph 3.10)</p> <p>Tourism Code of Conduct (2007)</p> <p>Promotes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Respect for local communities and their traditions; ✓ Preserving the local culture through tourism benefiting local communities; ✓ Tourism workers' right to fair wages and training and development opportunities.

Box 4.4: Tourism Law and Regulations in Mozambique

Firstly, The Tourism Policy and Implementation Strategy (2003) focus on the growth and development of the tourism industry. The main aim of this policy is to promote and develop tourism as a driving force for the growth of economy, creation of employment and provision of services for local communities. General principles, the objectives of tourism and priority areas for intervention have been defined in the Tourism Policy. Guidelines for implementation have also been described in detail as they aim at using key strategic actions to implement objectives and principles established in this Tourism Policy. Also emphasized in this law is the recognition of the value of conservation areas in the development of the tourism industry. The policy emphasizes that tourism plays an important role in poverty alleviation through interaction and commitment between partners such as the state and government at national-, provincial- and district-levels, local government, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, tourists (national, regional, international), financial institutions, international cooperation agencies, the press and the public (Decree 14/2003). For local communities, it is important to have a policy and guidelines on how this should be implemented. This policy ensures that local communities and other stakeholders have to engage in order to attain benefits from tourism.

A second policy is the Tourism Law (2004) which promotes sustainable development of tourism and ensured that tourism investments are fully integrated within the area in which they are located (Law 4/2004 Art. 17). It also points out that tourism is, and should continue in the future, as an activity that should be based on private sector tourism-related businesses. Thirdly, The National Tourism Code of Conduct, which was developed by the Government of Mozambique with the aim of maximizing economic and social benefits and at the same time minimising the negative impacts of tourism on the environment and culture. This code is important because it ensures that local communities' values and customs are respected, opportunities benefit local communities, and the resources that communities use are protected for present and future generations. This code is a way of ensuring responsibility by investors towards local communities which ensures that they benefit from tourism and or not impacted negatively by activities that are imposed on them by local or foreign investors (Thornton, 2008).

Lastly, the Strategic Plan for Tourism Development 2004-2013 sets priorities, defines markets and products, identifies priority areas for investment in the tourism sector and focuses resources for the designated period. It also envisages that Mozambique will become

an exciting and vibrant tourism destination in Africa which will receive approximately four million tourists by 2025. It recognizes that the development of tourism in Mozambique should be aligned with PARPA, the National Action Plan for Poverty Alleviation, which recognizes tourism as an important tool for economic development and poverty reduction. For local communities, this plan will ensure that between 2004 and 2013, destinations that have the potential to become top destinations in Mozambique are identified for potential investment from the tourism sector, thereby creating a range of benefits for the local communities.

The tourism regulations (Diploma 93/2005) require a tourism management committee at local level to undertake consultation involving different stakeholders at the beginning of the process of identifying natural resources where tourism is taking place (Johnstone, 2011). One contention is that institutions through which taxes are distributed to local communities lack technical capacity to develop these committees and that legal mechanisms were not developed as they have become tied up in discussions between ministries over authorization to receive and disburse funding (Johnstone, 2011). Similar situations have previously occurred in protected areas where the legal mechanisms for local communities to secure their rights are weak and undefined (Wit et al., 2003 cited by Johnstone, 2011). Under the tourism law, communities can retain some rights to natural resources within protected areas and can participate in their management. However, there are some activities of great importance to communities that are subject to restrictions and also special licenses and concessions inside conservation areas which allow tourism activities. As noted by Johnstone (2011), these contradictions are the root cause of many tensions between new and existing resource users over marine and coastal resources.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has underlined the history and evolution of the tourism industry in Mozambique. Marine and coastal resources are important aspects of tourism in Mozambique. Tourism has been increasing in many different areas, but opportunities for the local community are often not unlocked. This chapter has outlined the different processes by which rights over natural resources can be secured and transferred in Mozambique. It has also briefly examined the different institutions that have decision-making power at local level.

Chapter 5 Tofo and Barra Case Study Results

Josina Machel and Conguiana are two marginalized communities situated in Tofo and Barra respectively, in the Inhambane province, which have limited livelihood alternatives and are dependent on marine and coastal resources. This chapter provides the historical context of the communities of Josina Machel and Conguiana living in Tofo and Barra, as well as a detailed description of the socio-economic circumstances of the people living there. An overview of the benefits and losses of the tourism sector on the communities is also explored, highlighting the social, economic and ecological impacts. Special attention is devoted to the Benefit sharing mechanism put in place and facilitated by a private sector organization to enhance benefits to the local communities. Lastly, the factors that enhance or hinder benefits from the tourism sector to the communities of Tofo and Barra are highlighted.

5.1 Tofo and Barra: Historical context

Tofo and Barra have been important commercial regions since the first half of the 20th Century (Ferrão, 2005). The region was first inhabited by a group of families who used to farm in the area and sell their products in Inhambane city. People would often travel about 20 kilometres from Tofo and Barra to Inhambane by foot (Ferrão, 2005). The agricultural products from Tofo were of a superior quality, and for this reason some Portuguese individuals decided to explore the area. A timeline described below, highlighting key events relating to people's lives and livelihoods in the area, and to the tourism and fisheries sectors (See Figure 5.1). In the 1950s, the Portuguese imposed a very harsh system on the inhabitants of the Tofo and Barra region, called *chibalo*, or forced labour, by which local people were coerced into working. In the focus group with women in Tofo, it was explained:

“Here, colonialism was very cruel to us; the Régulos (traditional authorities) and cabos (indunas) were appointed by the whites to control and recruit the people, ensure that everyone would follow the rules and pay their taxes and sell some of the agricultural products within the area. Sometimes the whites would come during the harvesting of cotton or cashew nuts. Our brothers, sisters and cousins were obliged to work on the cotton farms and others were forced to work on road construction. I remember that the men would come from *chibalo* to see their families and three days later they were forced to go again; they were beaten if they refused to go back to the farms” (TWFG 1).

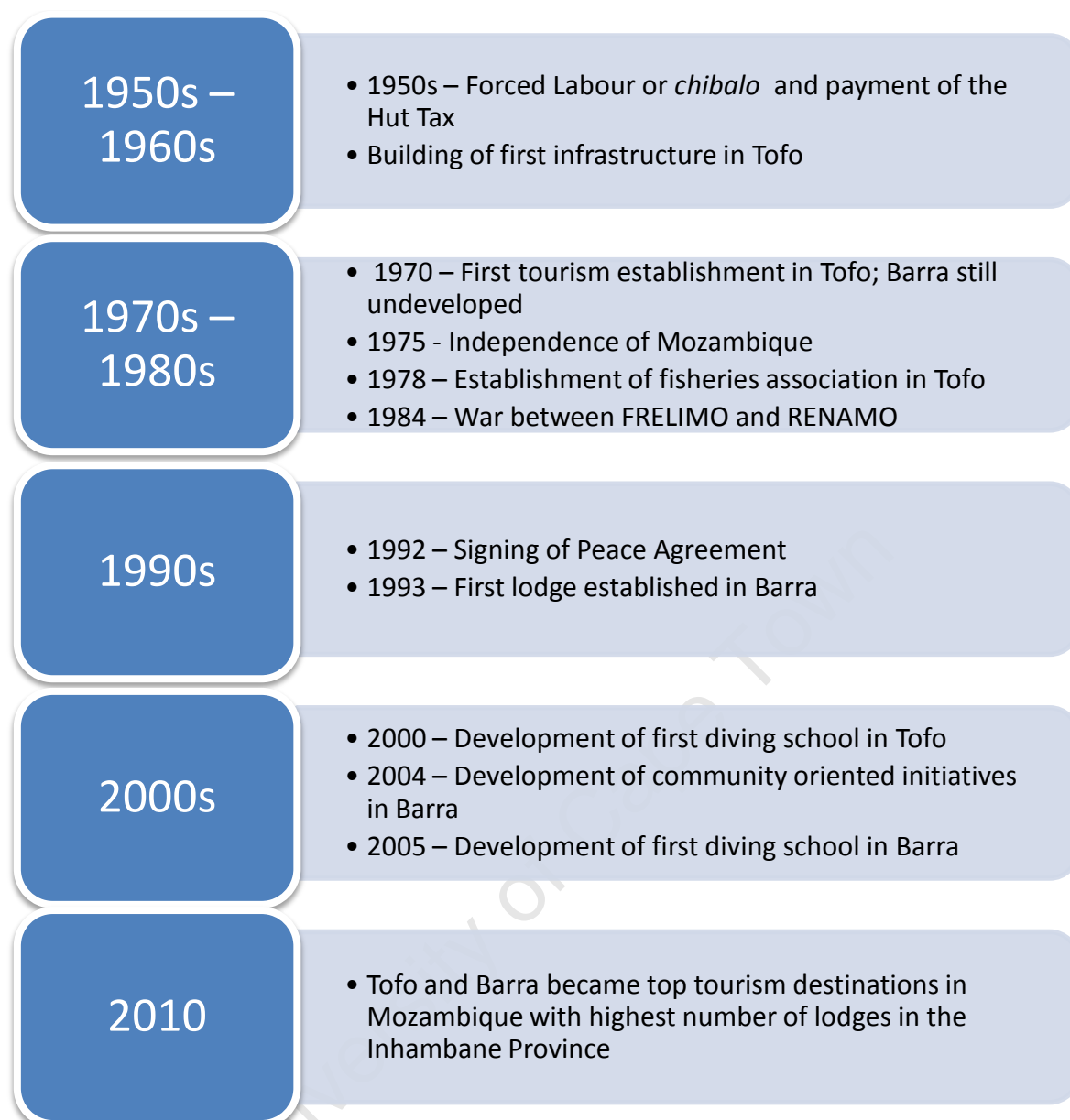


Figure 5.1 Timeline of key events in Josina Machel and Conguiana communities

Source: TDGFG 1; TTFG 1; TWFG 1; TANFG 1; BDGFG 1; BTFG 1; BTFG 2; BTFG 3; BWFG 1; BANFG 1.

In the 1950s and 1960s, a “hut tax” (*imposto de palhota*) was introduced by colonial powers (Newitt. 1995). This tax kept Mozambicans in debt so *chibalo* was easily enforced. Men were sent to South Africa to work on the gold mines and plantations and women were employed as agricultural labourers in Tofo and Barra. Non-payment of the tax or any other offences would result in forced labour, enforced by the traditional authority (Newitt, 1995). In the focus group with people who practice agriculture and use non-timber forest products, it was stated:

“Agriculture was the main activity of people living in the area. There was no tourism and there were few people fishing with lines. We felt like slaves. We were beaten if the hut tax was not paid and we were forced to do things that we did not want to do” (TANFG 1).

During the 1960s, the Portuguese started to build infrastructure in the Tofo area (Ferrão, 2005). This development was attributed to the tourism potential of the area being realized by some of the white Portuguese settlers. They started to build their “second homes” in order to spend their days off in areas adjacent to the sea. Barra was still undeveloped during this time.

The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) was a newly formed political organization that was fighting for freedom from the Portuguese system. This organization managed to stop forced labour by the beginning of the 1960s and it promised to unite Mozambique (Newitt, 1995).

In the 1970s, the first hotel was established in the area by three Portuguese colonizers: Neca da Cruz, Pauleta Machado and Antonio Ricardino (Ferrão, 2005). Tourism was initially developed for the enjoyment of the Portuguese and other international tourists within the region. The so-called “natives” under the Portuguese system were forbidden by law to use the coastal zone:

“Tourism was not for the black people, only for the white people. Black people could not bathe in the sea or they would be beaten. The only day black people could visit the beach was on the 5th of November from 9am to 4pm” (TTFG 1).

There was little development of the tourist industry in Tofo during this decade, mainly due to the lack of funds from the government for building high-quality infrastructure and the war of resistance being fought by FRELIMO. Some buildings were abandoned or destroyed and others just went to ruin. In 1975, Mozambique attained independence under a FRELIMO government. The Portuguese left the country, leaving behind some incomplete buildings and roads, especially in Tofo. Prior to independence, the traditional authorities were working for the Portuguese. These authorities were then abolished when Mozambique became independent as they were perceived as traitors because they supported the Portuguese system (Newitt, 1995). In Inhambane Province, FRELIMO replaced the traditional authorities with local political structures in the rural areas, namely, the Secretary of Party (*Secretário*), the Leadership Group (*Grupo Dinamizador*) and the Chief of Cell. These new political structures were in charge of organizing communal villages (*aldeias comunais*) and collective

production on state farms (*machambas estatais*) (Nhancale, 2007). At this time, ecological conditions in the area began to deteriorate and communities became mainly dependent on agriculture for their survival:

“Right after independence, the climate started changing, a lack of rain and extreme drought starting to affect agricultural production and local livelihoods; the soil became unsuitable for agriculture. Agricultural crops produced were mainly cassava, maize and coconuts. Communities were totally dependent on agriculture for subsistence because tourism did not develop.” (TDGFG1)

Fisheries were also an important source of food for both communities. However, it was only in 1978 that the Fisheries Association started in Tofo and fishers received cards equivalent to “fishing permits”. These cards were proof that the fishers were registered with the Association and it gave fishers the right to fish. The period between the 1980s and the 1990s was characterized by instability because of the war between FRELIMO and the National Resistance Movement of Mozambique (RENAMO). In both communities, people faced famine because most agricultural production had collapsed, tourism was non-existent and people were afraid to fish because of the war (GFFG 1). In 1992, the situation in the communities started to change with the signing of the Peace Agreement between FRELIMO and RENAMO and by 1994 peace was restored. During this time, traditional institutions were re-established and they began to work with the local political structures implemented by FRELIMO (TDGFG 1). Also, in both communities interest re-emerged to invest in the area:

“Some South Africans started to re-build some of the lodges in Tofo. Diving schools, bars and holiday homes belonging to Mozambicans and South Africans became established. Communities were happy because the number of jobs available increased” (TTFG 1).

The number of jobs in the communities increased dramatically, mostly due to the development of tourism establishments which provided an alternative livelihood as a decline in agricultural production due to drought and flood cycles was causing communities to suffer from hunger. Fishing also gained increased popularity as an alternative to agriculture. The men who were previously forced to migrate to South Africa, at this point in time, returned home (First, 1977 cited by Ferrão, 2005).

In 1993, the first lodge was established in Barra, called Barra Lodge from Barra Resorts Group. People in the community were happy with the development of the lodge because this

would mean another opportunity for employment in the area. At first, people obtained jobs from the construction the lodges (TTFG 1)

By the year 2000, one South African called Jerry expanded the tourism opportunities in Tofo by initiating diving tourism. Diving tourism involves travelling to a destination that offers scuba-diving. In Tofo and Barra, the abundance of marine life provides excellent conditions for diving tourism. However, the communities of Tofo and Barra have perceived that fish stocks have declined due to the of the development of diving tourism in the area (TTFG 1; TDGFG 1). In Conguiana, a number of initiatives to benefit the community were developed by Barra Lodge during this time. In 2005, the first scuba diving school was established in Barra.

By 2010, the area of the Inhambane Province that includes Tofo and Barra was identified as having one of the largest numbers of tourism establishments in the country, with 20 registered in Tofo and 38 in Barra. These included lodges, hotels, dive operators, restaurants and businesses that supply and support tourism. Over the years, tourism in Tofo and Barra started to grow, however without a controlled management plan (Ferrão, 2005).

So, the historical background of Tofo and Barra demonstrates the sensitive nature of the livelihoods of the local communities in these areas who have been faced with colonial occupation followed by a civil war that devastated human lives, the infrastructure of the country, traditional institutions and the economy. Local communities in Tofo and Barra are still in the process of reconstruction and social and economic recovery So the agricultural, fisheries and tourism sectors are important contributors to local livelihoods in these areas.

5.2 Background description and socio-economic circumstances

5.2.1 Profiling the communities of Tofo and Barra

Tofo and Barra are located within the Inhambane Municipality and comprise the communities of Josina Machel, town residents and Conguiana. These communities are mainly *Tongas* with strong agricultural traditions, classified ethnically as *Bitongas* (Pires, 1937 cited by Ferrão, 2005). This community has a patrilineal system of family set up that characterizes its social organization structure (Ferrão, 2005). In patrilineal systems, property is inherited through the

male line that recognizes age as the most important factor regarding leadership; for this reason, in these societies “the chief holds military, judicial and religious power as well as being responsible for law and order in their territory” (Rita-Ferreira, 1975 cited by Ferrão, 2005:20). The role of the male is therefore very important in these societies in decision making over use of different natural resources and, most importantly, for solving conflicts and division of the land.

Table 5.1 Profile of Tofo and Barra

	Tofo	Barra
Community	Josina Machel	Conguiana
Number of villages	12	7
Estimated homesteads	1514	774
Number of households surveyed	139	73
Gender	Males - 68 % Females - 32 %	Males - 69 % Females - 31 %
% of households headed by females	7%	10%
Average Age \pm Standard Deviation	42 \pm 16	35 \pm 16
Marital Status	Married - 81 % Single – 7% Other – 12% ⁵	Married - 68 % Single - 19 % Other – 13% ⁶
Main area of origin of respondents	In this village - Tofo	In this village – Barra

Source: Household surveys, 2010

Women lost their husbands in Inhambane Province during the war between RENAMO and FRELIMO and at the same time men were sent to South Africa to work in the mining and agriculture sectors (First, 1977 cited by Ferrão, 2005). During the focus group discussion with people involved in agriculture and use of non-timber forest products, participants stated:

“In the 1980s, the majority of the people living in Tofo area were women because not all the men who were forced to migrate to South Africa had returned home” (ANT1).

⁵ Other marital status refers to separated, divorced and widowed

⁶ Other marital status refers to separated, divorced and widowed

A decade later, a contrasting situation appears and in a focus group discussion with women involved in different sectors this was explained:

“Between the 1990s and 2000s, the war between FRELIMO and RENAMO had ceased. The large majority of men who were forced to migrate to South Africa started to return to their homes and to their wives” (WT1).

The return of the men during the 1990s to the Tofo area explains the change in the structure of Tofo in 2010, where households are mainly headed by males.

5.2.2 Household characteristics

Table 5.2 Characteristics of the households in Tofo and Barra

	Tofo	Barra
Main material for construction	Walls - Reeds Roof - Corrugated iron	Walls - Reeds Roof - Corrugated iron
Average number of households per homestead	2	3
Average number of people per household	5	7
Main household energy source	Electricity – 40 % Firewood – 60%	Electricity – 47% Firewood – 53%
Main household cooking source	Firewood – 97 % Other – 3%	Firewood – 98% Other – 2%
Main household water source	Open unprotected well	Open unprotected well

Source: Household surveys, 2010

Ferrão (2005) described electricity and water as services that were poorly installed. In 2005, electricity was not available to the local community, but was available to the main tourism establishments and private holiday homes. However, the improvement in the electricity supply in Tofo and Barra did not change some of the communities' habits and firewood is still mainly used for cooking.

5.2.3 Literacy and Employment in Tofo and Barra

The education system in Mozambique is characterized by weak performance as a whole (Bilale, 2007). High dropout rates in Tofo and Barra are associated with people finding opportunities to earn money, particularly at early stages of their lives. However, participants in the tourism focus group discussions are not satisfied with this situation:

“Kids are now leaving school to come and sell on the beach; sometimes they don’t go back home because they like to hang out with foreigners. It is also a way that they can get money and “free food”! (TTFG 1)

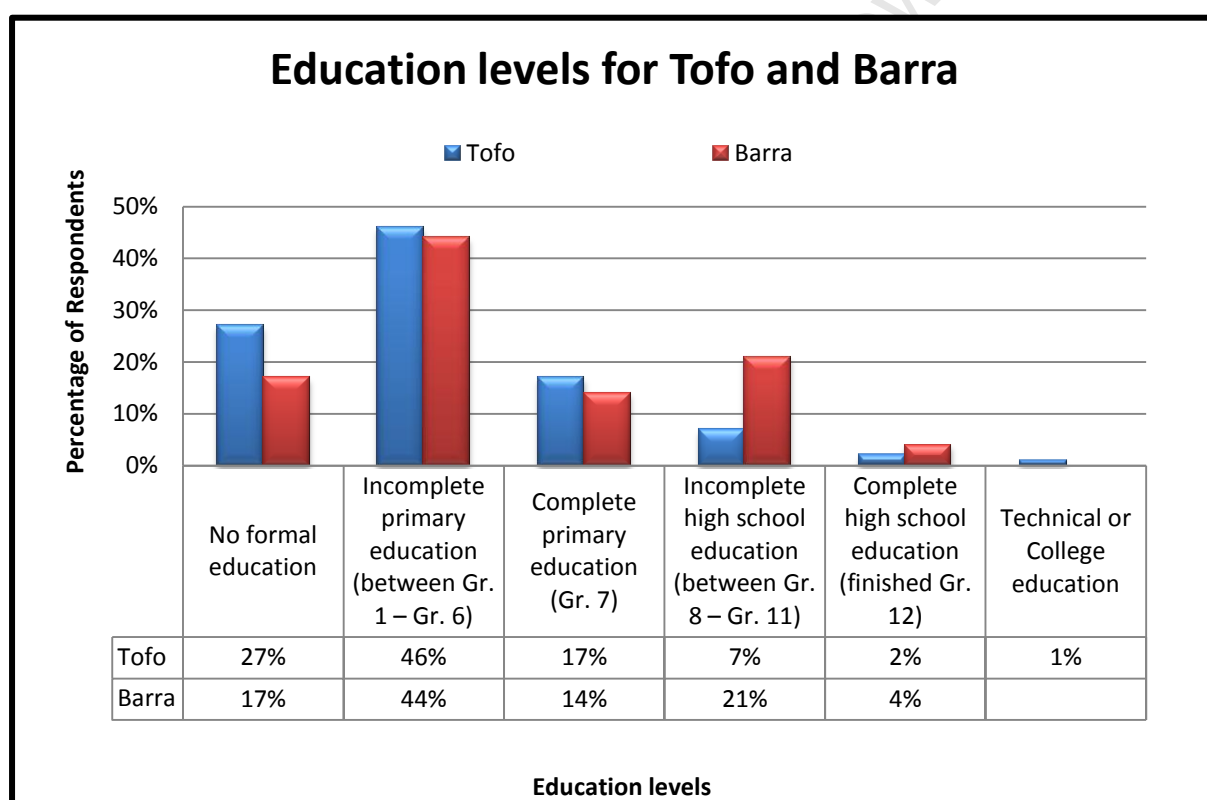


Figure 5.2 Education levels for Tofo and Barra

In Tofo, only 7% of respondents have stated that they attended high school education, while 21% of respondents attained the same education level in Barra. This can be explained by the fact that there are more opportunities to earn money in Tofo than in Barra. Interventions to

enhance the state of the schools and donations of school material are present in Barra, thereby creating greater incentives for local people to stay in school.

The Inhambane Province is characterized by extreme inequality and this is exacerbated by high levels of unemployment among the vast majority of the population. For example, in 2004, 2 137 unemployed people were registered in the Inhambane Province and this number increased approximately four times in 2008, when there were 10 074 people without jobs (Muendane et al., 2009). In Tofo and Barra, unemployment levels were particularly low (i.e. 6% and 8% respectively), which contrasts with that in the wider Inhambane Province. Unemployment levels may be low in Tofo and Barra because self-employment levels in both communities were found to be particularly high, with 59% for Tofo and 42% for Barra. Self-employment can be referred to as a type of employment where local people work for themselves, such as subsistence fishers, fish sellers, subsistence farmers, owners of *spaza* shops and craft makers and sellers.

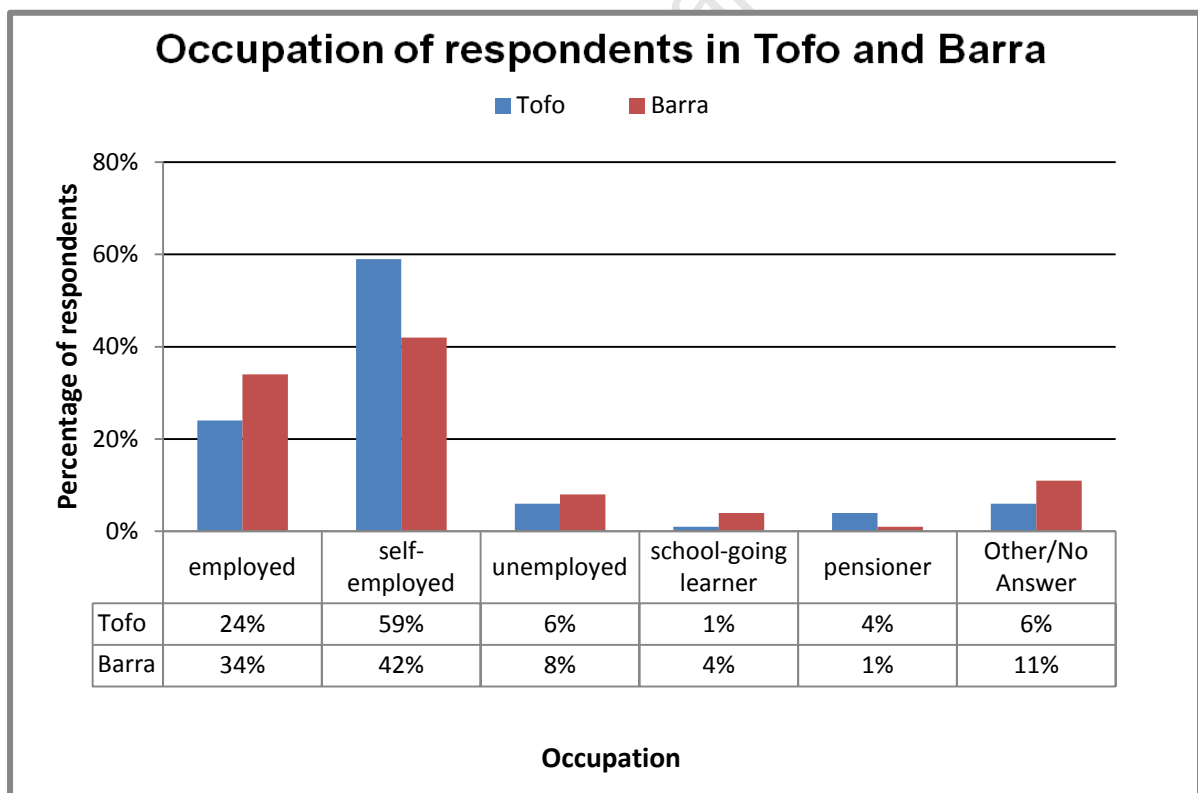


Figure 5.3 Occupation in Tofo and Barra

Formal employment levels were found to be high in Tofo and Barra, 24% and 34% respectively. Employment amongst local communities in Tofo and Barra is primarily in the tourism sector, in tourism establishments, diving shops, restaurants and other tourism-related facilities. The sale of marine resources, which falls under self-employment, is one of the main contributors to the monthly income of local communities. (See Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4).

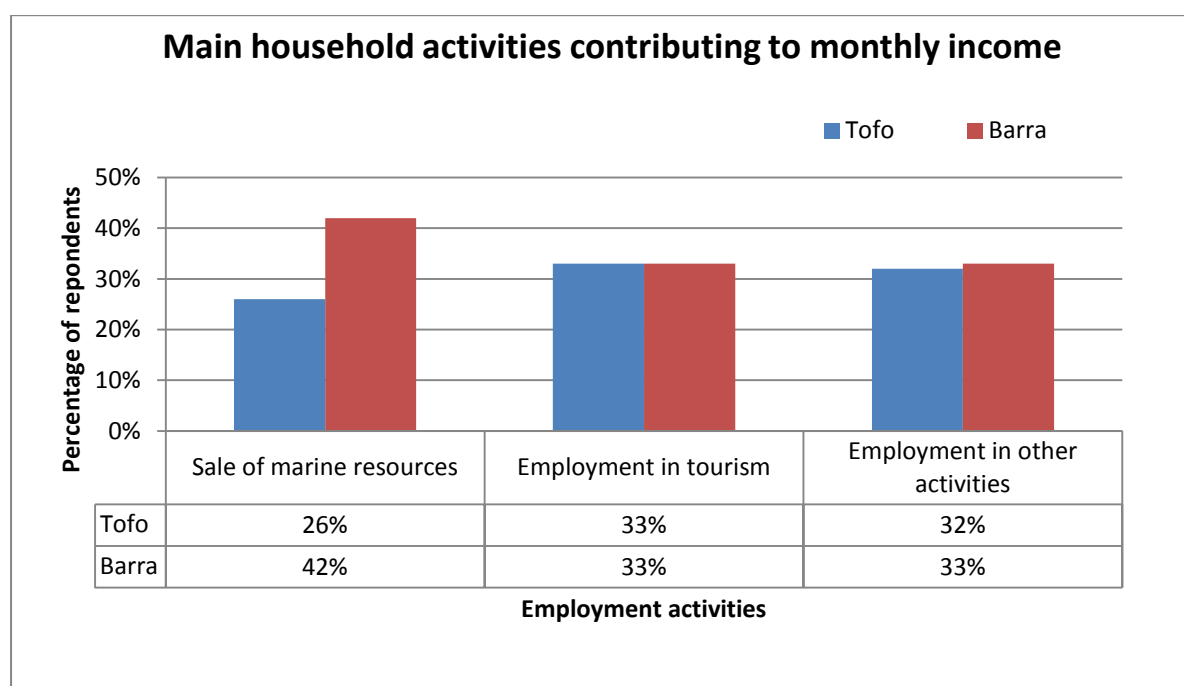


Figure 5.4 Main household activities contributing to income per month

Most household income earned by the people of Tofo and Barra has been attributed to the fishing, tourism and agricultural sectors (Ferrão, 2005). The agricultural sector is important for subsistence needs of local communities, as is evident in the cultivated fields adjacent to most homesteads. Ferrão (2005) also recognizes that these three sectors are the most important economic activities that are practiced by the Josina Machel community. Other activities in the area include repairing vehicles and boats, carpenters, handicrafts, plumbing, construction and building industry, stonemason, photographers, holiday home caretakers and domestic workers, amongst others.

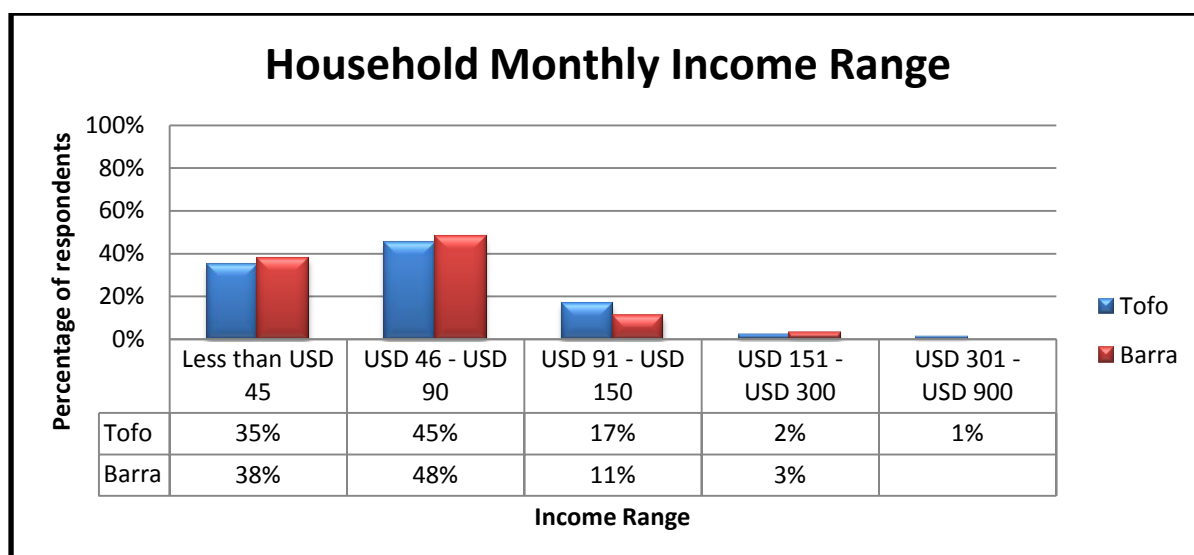


Figure 5.5 Household income range per month in Tofo and Barra

In terms of income ranges⁷, most of the households in Tofo and Barra earn less than \$90 per month (80% and 86% respectively). Individuals who are employed mostly earn between \$46-\$90 per month, while individuals who are self-employed usually earn less than \$45 in both Tofo and Barra.

5.3 Resource Use in the Coastal Areas of Tofo and Barra

This study revealed that households utilize a diversity of marine resources both to sell and to use for their own consumption. In particular, local communities harvest marine resources, engage in agricultural production, harvest NTFPs and are employed in tourism. For this reason, it is important to gain a broader understanding of the livelihoods and activities of the people in Tofo and Barra. The resource harvesting activities are briefly discussed below, with a more in-depth discussion on how households in Barra and Tofo are engaging in tourism and how this sector has impacted their lives.

⁷ Conversion rate is USD 1 = MTN 33

5.3.1 Fisheries sector

5.3.1.1 Overview of the fisheries sector in Tofo and Barra

Tofo and Barra are considered a major fishing zone where small-scale fishers operate. Fishing activities take place right on the beach and the local community is heavily dependent on fishing for subsistence (SNV, 2007: BTDKI 1). In these areas, fish are available throughout the year and the most common species harvested are sawfish (*serra*), garoupa, cherewa, peixe barros, cachucho, calcanha, red fish (*peixe vermelho*), tuna (*atum*), and garfish (*agulha*) (SNV, 2007).

Table 5.3 Profile of fishers in Tofo and Barra (based on Household Survey)

	Tofo	Barra
Number of fishers that participated in the study	27	17
Estimated percentage of fishers in community	19 %	23 %
Gender	Males – 100 %	Males - 100 %
Education of fishers	No formal Education - 18,5 % Primary Education: Incomplete – 63 % Complete - 18,5 %	No formal Education – 18 % Primary Education: Incomplete – 64 % Complete – 18 %
Main area of origin of fishers	Born in this area	Born in this area
Average Age \pm Standard Deviation	40 \pm 14	34 \pm 8
Marital Status	Married - 92 % Separated - 4 % Widow(er) - 4 %	Married - 88 % Single - 6 % Separated - 6 %
Monthly Household Income	Less than \$45 – 52 % \$46-\$90 – 37 % More than \$91 – 11 %	Less than \$45 – 53 % \$46-\$90 – 41 % More than \$91 – 6 %
Percent of fishers with a fishing license	91 %	79 %

Fish are the most harvested marine resources and are the most popular in terms of consumption amongst both locals and tourists. Besides fish, other resources that people harvest in Tofo and Barra are crab, calamari, lobster, clams and prawns.

In Mozambique, fishing licenses are required for all types of fishing. These licenses are issued annually and can be revoked by fishing authorities (Momade, 2005). Local communities can apply for licenses for the use of the resources and these are allocated per fishing unit. Fishing units correspond to one or more types of fisheries or fishing related operations within a boat. In terms of small scale fisheries, the fishing license is a fee as quotas are employed only in semi-industrial and industrial fisheries, (Momade, 2005) and applicants may or may not have their own boats. Dhow boats are mainly used by fishers in Tofo and Barra, but there are some fishers who use small engines on their boats. According to SNV (2007), more than 50% of the boats are hired, not owned, by the fishers.

Table 5.4 Resource use and perceptions of fishers in Tofo and Barra

	Tofo	Barra
Period of fisheries resource use	< 10 years - 41 % 11 - 40 years - 58 % > 41 years - 1 %	< 10 years - 35 % 11 - 40 years - 47 % > 41 years - 18 %
Stock change of fisheries resource	Less - 76 % Stayed same – 23 % More - 1 %	Less - 71 % Stayed same - 24% More - 5 %
Uses of fisheries resources	For eating, selling and give away – 73 % For eating only - 27 %	For eating, selling and give away – 63 % For eating only - 37 %
Fisheries resource use vs. Time	All year round – 99 % Occasionally – 1 %	All year round – 99 % Occasionally – 1 %

The coastal communities in the Inhambane coastal zone have been practicing fishing for many years. In Tofo and Barra, the household surveys revealed that those who harvested marine resources did so for between 11 and 40 years, also indicating that marine resources are mostly declining (i.e. 76% and 71% respectively). In the view of the fishers, the decline of fish in the area is associated with unsustainable and uncontrolled use of resources, the

increased number of fishers in the area and an increase in the number of illegal fishers⁸. Households in both Tofo and Barra have identified ‘sale of marine resources’ as a primary income-generating activity (33 26% and 42% respectively) and fishing as an important activity (19% and 23%). This explains the importance of harvesting marine resources all year round for income and food in both communities. Additionally, the communities of Tofo and Barra use fish for consumption. Some 73% of fishers in Tofo and 63% of fishers in Barra indicated that they use fisheries resources for eating, selling and giving away.

In both communities, fishers sell to tourism operators, commercial buyers, tourists, markets and members of the community, but some also sell their fish in Inhambane city. There is one commercial buyer of fish and shellfish in Tofo, apart from the tourism operators, who also buy from the fishers. The increased tourism activity in Inhambane results in a large demand for seafood. Local fishers feel that this has led to a decrease in fisheries resources over the past 10 years (SNV, 2007). It is estimated that the annual demand for seafood by hotels and restaurants is between 30 to 40 tonnes (SNV, 2007). There are a number of fish sellers in the area, who wait for the fishers to come from the sea and buy the fish for a lower price than they will sell to consumers or larger buyers. According to SNV (2007), in 2007 fish were sold from the fishermen to re-sellers at \$1.5 per kilo and the middlemen sell to other customers for \$1.9 per kilo. In 2010, fish were sold at \$2.8 per kilo and the re-seller sells to the customer for \$3.6 to \$4.2 per kilo. As one fish seller, who works in the Tofo market, stated:

“Fishing or selling fish is not very good or profitable anymore because before we used to earn a lot of money, well before there was a lot of fish. If the fishers can’t find fish, we won’t sell, therefore none of us will have food to put on the table. If we don’t have dried fish to eat, we will get products from the fields we cultivate, just enough food to make curry (caril) for the family” (TFSKI 1).

5.3.1.2 Benefits and losses of the fisheries sector

Marine resources are, and have always been, important to the livelihoods of coastal communities in Tofo and Barra (BTDKI 1). Drawing on focus group discussions and key informant interviews, a number of benefits were identified by fishers in relation to their

⁸ In Inhambane Province, research on fisheries is restricted to Inhassoro, Vilanculos and Inhambane Bay. There is a gap in terms of actual numbers particularly related to the ecological dimension.

fishing activities. The key benefits and positive impacts that were discussed are outlined in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Key benefits perceived by fisheries resource users in Tofo and Barra

Key Benefits/Positive Impacts	Tofo	Barra
1. Fisheries sector provides a source of food for fishers and their families	TWFG 1; TDGFG 1	BDGFG 1
2. Fisheries sector is considered by fishers as a key income generating activity	TDGFG 1, TFSKI 1	BDGFG 1
3. Money is a key benefit that comes from the selling of marine resources	TDGFG 1 ; TFSKI 2	BDGFG 1; BFSKI 1
4. Women sell marine resources, therefore they: (1) feel empowered (2) obtain money	TWFG 1	BWFG1

For fisheries resource users in Tofo and Barra, fish and fish products are important to the local communities in terms of protein intake. Additionally, fishers consider fishing a key activity that contributes to their monthly income. Fishers sell their fish to fish sellers who will then sell it to tourists and people from inside and outside the local community. Money is, for this reason, a key benefit from selling the fish and fish products. In both Tofo and Barra, women play an important role in the buying, processing and marketing of the fish. The involvement of women in the fish-processing value chain has empowered women in the local communities of Tofo and Barra (See table 5.5).

Apart from the linkages and conflicts between the fisheries sector and the tourism sector (which will be discussed later in this chapter), there are also some negative impacts for the fisheries resource users and the local communities. Fish and fisheries products are the main sources of food for local communities (TWFG 1) and for this reason the decline of fish in size and quantity affects the livelihoods of local people. The high demand for fish products resulting from a developing tourism industry in Tofo and Barra has also created inflation in the fish prices for the local communities (See Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Key losses or negative impacts perceived by marine resource users

Key Losses/Negative Impacts	Tofo	Barra
1. Decline in fish stocks is affecting the livelihoods of local communities	TWFG 1	BFSKI 1
2. Higher demand for fish and decline in fish numbers increases the prices of fish for local communities and outsiders	TWFG 1 ; TTFG 1	BTFG 1

5.3.2 Agriculture and Non-timber forest products

Household surveys and key informant interviews regarding agriculture show that cultivated fields are one asset owned by most local communities. People living in Tofo and Barra own areas that they cultivate and these areas are often adjacent to their households or within the homesteads. The produce of the cultivated fields is usually for subsistence of the household. Vegetables such as cassava, peanuts, greens, sweet potato, *cacana* and onions are grown and also fruits like bananas, mangos and coconuts. They are mainly for household consumption but are sold in the local market as well in order to obtain money to purchase other household goods such as soap, clothes and other food-products. Cassava and sweet potato are mentioned more than the other vegetables because they are very resistant to droughts and communities base their meals on these two products.

In Tofo, 92% of the respondents and in Barra 95% of the respondents use agricultural and non-timber forest products. 65% of the respondents in Tofo indicated that agricultural resources have decreased over the past ten years mainly due to perceived climate change which causes impoverishment of the soil, droughts and floods. Similarly, in Barra, 63% of respondents who harvest agricultural and non-timber forest resources have indicated that

these resources are declining due to droughts and changes in climate. In both Tofo and Barra, agricultural and forest products are harvested mostly all year round and local communities do not require permits for harvesting these resources. In terms of use, harvesters use resources mainly for food consumption in Tofo and Barra (i.e. 95% and 90% respectively). Surplus agricultural production is stored for future use or sold within the local community.

The coconut palm tree is a non-timber forest product that is also an important asset for the communities living in Tofo and Barra. In Mozambique, planting of coconuts became a way of permanently declaring rights over the land (BTMKI 1). This tree has the potential to provide food, beverages and other livelihood opportunities for local communities. The shell of the coconut is used to make crafts and ornaments and coconut fronds for macuti, which is used in construction, mainly for the roof:

“Macuti is beneficial to everyone in the community. It gives jobs to old people who can't work anymore as well as people who are unemployed like my sisters. We use the macuti for the construction of our houses; we can use it in the walls as well as in the roof” (TMSKI 1)

Coconuts can be sold to the tourists for about \$0.15 per coconut. The fronds of the coconut tree are also used in the construction of houses for the community as well as for the roofs of the tourist lodges. The results of the household survey have revealed that local communities in Tofo and Barra benefit mainly from agricultural and non-timber forest products for nutrition and, to a lesser extent, to buy other products such as oil, sugar and rice when the products are sold as a result of a surplus in production. Although the results have indicated that no negative impacts were perceived by subsistence farmers or the local community from the agricultural and non-timber forest products sector, the increased demand for macuti by the tourism establishment in Tofo and Barra is driving up the prices and increasing the pressure on this resource.

5.4 The Tourism Sector at Tofo and Barra

In Tofo, there are approximately 20 licensed tourism establishments providing accommodation. There is an immense diversity in types of accommodation available including holiday resorts, guesthouses, holiday homes/flats, bed and breakfasts, chalets and cottages, beach lodges, self-catering units, backpackers/budget and tented camps. In the area,

there is solely one-, two- and three-star ratings (Nhantumbo, 2009). Barra has revealed a similar pattern in terms of diversity of accommodation, where there are approximately 38 tourism establishments mostly characterized by lodge-type tourism. The tourism establishments in Tofo and Barra are mainly made of local materials such as wood, palm leaves and grass (Nhantumbo, 2009) and are located on top of sensitive ecosystems, mainly sand dunes adjacent to the mangroves in front of the beach.

Barra has been characterized as “private”, as some lodges have closed off their boundaries separating themselves from their neighbours with straw mats and/or with barbed wire (Nhantumbo, 2009). There are few public facilities and access to the area is difficult for local communities. This area has been widely promoted through the use of brochures and websites as an exotic destination with white sandy beaches and a striking marine environment, creating a secluded resort environment. In addition to the natural assets of the area, local culture has been used as a promotional attraction. This high-end type of tourism has increased the number of visitors to the area, which is mainly associated with the effects of cruise tourism. In Barra, there are two main cruises that have their stopovers in the area, namely MSC Sinfonia and MSC Melody. In 2004, Barra received approximately 2 800 visitors and this industry grew over the years, especially with the development of cruise tourism. In 2008, it registered 13 225 visitors (Nhantumbo, 2009).

The coastal and marine environments of Tofo and Barra provide tourists with a range of resources for a variety of activities associated with the three “s”: sun, sand and sea. In addition to the traditional sunbathing, there is a range of activities associated with tourism that include scuba diving, ocean safaris, snorkelling, deep-sea fishing, underwater photography of whale sharks, manta rays, coral reefs, mangrove walks, horse riding on the beach, catamaran trips, kayaking, village walks and cultural tours.

The profile of people involved in and benefiting from tourism is outlined in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Profile of people involved in and benefiting from the tourism sector (HH survey)

	Tofo	Barra
Percent of HH survey respondents involved in and benefiting from tourism	33%	33%
Average Age (standard deviation)	42 ± 13	34 ± 11
Gender	Males - 83 % Females - 17 %	Males - 81 % Females - 19 %
Education	No formal Education - 22 % Primary Education: Incomplete 46 % Complete - 17 % Secondary Education and above - 15 %	No formal Education - 12 % Primary Education Incomplete - 50 % Complete - 12 % Secondary Education and above - 26 %
Marital Status	Married - 82 % Single - 7 % Separated - 2 % Widow(er) - 9 %	Married - 65 % Single - 23 % Separated - 4 % Widow(er) - 8 %
Monthly Household Income	Less than \$45 – 20% \$46-\$90 – 50% More than \$91 – 30%	Less than \$45 – 16% \$46-\$90 – 60% More than \$91 – 24%
Occupation	Employed - 74 % Self-employed - 24 % Pensioner - 2 %	Employed - 92 % Self-employed - 8 %
Where born	In Tofo - 74 % Outside Tofo- 26 %	In Barra - 54 % Outside Barra - 46 %
Main material for household construction	Walls - Reeds Roof - Corrugated iron	Walls - Reeds Roof - Corrugated iron
Household energy source	Electricity – 43 %	Electricity – 47 %
Household cooking source	Firewood – 94% Other – 6%	Firewood – 100%
Main household water source	Open unprotected well	Open unprotected well

In both Tofo and Barra, the tourism operators and lodges are mainly owned by white people from South Africa (Fiege et al., 2004) and people from both communities are employed in the various tourism establishments. All of the respondents involved in tourism stated that tourism is one the main contributors to their monthly income. People involved in tourism in both communities typically start to work in tourism straight from school and they usually have to be fluent in Portuguese and have the ability to learn new languages and activities. For this reason, people involved in tourism are more educated than the fishers. Fishers, unlike people involved in tourism, draw their livelihoods from a number of other coastal sectors and activities. Cinner et al., (2010) suggest that although fishers have the ability to find occupations in a number of sectors, they have only a marginal occupational multiplicity. Also, the salaries of the people involved in tourism tend to be higher than those of the fishers, as they have a fixed monthly income whereas the income of fishers is dependent on the amount of fish they are able to sell. Cinner et al., (2010) also suggest that fishers have higher running costs in terms of fishing tools such as nets and gear that they have to buy or patch (See Table 5.3 and 5.7).

5.5 Actors and Institutions in Tourism in Tofo and Barra

The local communities of Tofo and Barra have identified actors and institutions that are involved in the tourism sector. Table 5.8 outlines the actors at national, provincial and local level as well as their roles in tourism.

Table 5.8 Sphere, actors and their roles in the tourism sector in Tofo and Barra

Sphere	Actors/Institutions	Role/Involvement
National Government	Tourism Ministry	Responsible for management of tourism development in all spheres of government
Provincial Government	Provincial Directorate of Tourism	Responsible for management of tourism that includes promotion of tourism, approval of new tourism establishments and enforcement of laws regarding the tourism sector at provincial level
Local institutions		
Government	Secretary of neighbourhood (FRELIMO party representative)	Responsible for local level issues, including conflict resolution, policing, justice, enforcement and civic education.
	Dynamizing Group	Responsible for conflict discussion and resolution and land administration
	Cell Chief	Responsible for all affairs in the different neighbourhoods within the community
Traditional Structure	Traditional Authority	Responsible for conflict resolution and intervenes in land concessions, is responsible for offenders and sorcery and all the traditional issues in the community (i.e. traditional/cultural ceremonies)
Non-Governmental Organizations	Netherlands Development Organization (SNV)	Involved in the training of local communities and knowledge development, with particular focus on tourism and poverty reduction.
	Association for Cleaning and Environment (ALMA)	Involved in cleaning the environment, waste management and ecological education.
	National Diving Association (AMAR)	Involved in training local communities in the tourism and fisheries sector. AMAR aims to ensure the conservation of marine resources.
Private Sector	Barra Resorts Group	Involved in creating benefits for the local community including a market for fish, enhancement of basic services to the local community, training and local business development.

Source: Household surveys, 2010; Key informant interviews, 2010.

The Government of Mozambique, through the Ministry of Tourism, is in charge of the facilitation and management of tourism development in the country (Chambal, 2008). Over the years, Mozambique has been involved in a decentralization process in order to encourage democracy and the participation of local people in decision-making (Johnstone, 2011). As a result, opportunities for delivery of tourism programmes have emerged at provincial and local levels. For this reason, provincial departments of tourism were established in a number of provinces, including one in Inhambane. Provincial departments are responsible for the management of tourism, which includes promotion of tourism, approval of new tourism establishments and enforcement of laws regarding the tourism sector at provincial level (ITGRKI 1).

This study focuses on local institutions, how they interact and the role they play in tourism. The Secretary is the representative of the government in the local community and was elected leader after independence. He is also head of the Dynamizing Group, which consists of a dozen representatives from the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM), Organization of Mozambican Youth (OJM), Fisheries Community Council (CCP) and other workers' production councils. These members of the Dynamizing Group, excluding the Secretary, were elected directly by the local communities. This group meets every Wednesday morning to discuss all community-related matters in both Tofo and Barra. The cell chiefs are under the Secretary and they are responsible for each neighbourhood within the community (See Figure 5.2).

In Tofo and Barra, the traditional authorities were replaced by the Secretary and the Dynamizing Group in the post-independence period by FRELIMO (Cau, 2004). All the formal roles of the traditional authorities (i.e. land administration) were dealt with by these new structures. In 2000, the traditional power and authorities re-emerged as FRELIMO adopted an approach whereby structures that were previously neglected by the regime could now become members of the Party. FRELIMO introduced community authorities who included traditional authorities, secretaries of war and other legitimized leaders (Cau, 2004). In Barra, a new traditional authority has not yet been appointed and the method of accession to power is inheritance. In Tofo, the traditional authority is mainly responsible for land allocation and the celebration of traditional ceremonies.

The traditional authority, the Secretary and the Dynamizing Group co-exist peacefully in Tofo. The traditional authority works with the Secretary and Dynamizing Group in deciding on matters like the allocation and distribution of land and land disputes within the local community. Traditional issues are also under the jurisdiction of the traditional authority. The traditional authority explained:

“The Secretário and I work together with all the structures in order to try to solve the problems. I often intervene when the problems have no solution at family level. These conflicts can be cases of witchcraft practices. Also, when rain is needed sometimes we have to do certain ceremonies. Land issues are also very common problems in the community and I play an important role” (TTAKI 1).

In the tourism sector, there are three non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and local associations, namely SNV (Netherlands Development Organization), ALMA (Association of Cleaning and Environment) and AMAR (National Diving Association), which provide benefits to the local community.

SNV is an NGO that works with national and international entities in civil society and the public and private sectors and it has provided training, involvement and knowledge sharing in matters such as tourism and poverty reduction. SNV operates some components of their projects in Barra in the Inhambane Province, namely professional training in hospitality and basic skills in the tourism sector, and development and improvement of access to basic services by communities. Solid waste is a major problem in Tofo and SNV facilitated a program between the Municipal Council in Inhambane and ALMA, a local association. The first phase of this project included dumpsite management, cleaning and separation.

AMAR (National Diving Association) was founded in 2007 and is a non-profit organization that has provided training to locals in the tourism and the fisheries sectors. AMAR aims to ensure the conservation of marine resources. According to one of the members of AMAR:

“The association has no formalized role in the management of the sector as such. However, more recently AMAR has been invited to sit on steering committees for local projects such as the COAST Project.” (TNGOKI 1)

AMAR aims to conserve and preserve marine wildlife to ensure the long-term sustainability of marine based tourism in Tofo. Also, it aims to ensure that conservation efforts are followed by tourism companies which benefit from marine conservation efforts. It feels that

these tourism companies could benefit from some kind of collective representation to the government (TNGOKI 1). In the preceding years, AMAR has implemented projects involving conservation of marine habitat and resources that have benefited the local community through tourism (TNGOKI 1). In the future, AMAR is considering working with the local fishermen to develop income alternatives to fishing such as horticulture and possibly aquaculture but these initiatives are still largely in the design stage (TNGOKI 1). Although these three NGOs have been instrumental in the development of tourism in Tofo and Barra, local communities did not perceive these organizations as powerful in terms of decision-making.

5.6 Tourism models in Tofo and Barra: benefits and losses

Tourism has been an important asset to the local communities of Tofo and Barra over the past decade, and has provided them with a number of benefits, but there have also been losses and negative impacts associated with the tourism sector. This section provides an overview of two tourism models in two case study sites. Tofo, the first case study site, represents the conventional mass tourism model that is the dominant model in Mozambique (Kiambo, 2005). This model has no benefit-sharing strategies to enhance benefits to the local community. Barra, the second case study site, represents the partnership between the private sector and the local community and benefits are enhanced to local communities through corporate social responsibility as a benefit-sharing strategy. This section provides an overview of these benefits and losses through the eyes of the people employed and benefiting from tourism as well as input from the wider community. The benefits and losses have been categorized into social, economic and ecological dimensions. Key benefits perceived by local communities are presented below.

5.6.1 Conventional mass tourism model - Tofo

Conventional mass tourism is generally defined as “rapid development with the goal of maximization, and only little consideration for social and environmental issues” (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008:39). This type of tourism is often uncontrolled and unplanned and consequently is found everywhere. In addition, external influence is one of the main characteristics since the development is often initiated by outsiders (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). In the Inhambane Province, where Tofo is located, the most dominant type of tourism

is conventional mass tourism with particular emphasis on the sun, sand and sea as the main attractive of this kind of tourism. Kiambo (2005) has showed that other types of tourism are present including ecotourism, culture, aquatic/adventure and urban tourism. Conventional mass tourism is not considered to be sustainable because many problems and weaknesses of this model have been identified (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Swarbrooke, 1999). In Tofo, benefit sharing strategies that ensure that benefits are accrued by local communities are not present, and this is a reflection of the type of tourism that is dominant in this area. In spite of this, social, economic and ecological outcomes from the conventional mass tourism model were identified.

5.6.1.1 Key economic benefits and losses

The tourism sector has the potential to create direct economic benefits for local communities. Key economic benefits and losses that have been studied in Tofo community is described below (See Table 5.9).

Table 5.9 Key economic benefits and losses associated with tourism in

ECONOMIC			
Benefits /positive impacts	Source	Losses /negative impacts	Source
1. Employment	TTFG1; TWFG1; TDGFG1; TTMKI1;	1. Inflation on prices of goods	TTFG1; TDGFG1; TFSKI 1;
2. Money/Income	TTFG1; TWFG1; TDGFG1; TARKI1;	2. Economic benefits leave the community	TDGFG1;
		3. Inflation in land prices	TTFG1;
		4. Uneven distribution of benefits	TWFG1; TTMKI 2;
		5. Seasonality of tourism impacts	TTFG1;

Mitchell and Ashley (2010) suggest that economic benefits are divided into labour income and non-labour income. Direct labour-income benefits include the creation of employment and business opportunities in tourism establishments such as hotels, lodges and restaurants. In both Tofo, one third of the respondents in the household survey indicated that they were

employed in the tourism sector. The monthly income of people involved in tourism is close to, or above, the minimum wage in Mozambique. There are other direct economic benefits that relate to those opportunities that result from supplying the tourism sector (Mitchell and Ashley, 2007). In Tofo, these benefits come from producers selling their products to the tourism sector, people involved in the informal sector and those who are self-employed who offer their services to the tourism value chain. Mitchell and Ashley (2010) have defined these direct impacts as income that emerges from micro and small enterprises (MSE) which are associated with the tourism sector. In this context, there are also indirect impacts from tourism that include the linkages between the tourism sector and other coastal sectors such as agriculture, forestry and fisheries. One of the managers of a tourism establishment in Tofo stated that in the area there are many linkages between tourism and other sectors:

“Locals get a huge amount of business; there is a lot of self-catering; everybody is buying stuff at the market; prawns, calamari, fish, crayfish, there is so much fruit and veggies. Coconuts, pineapples, paw paws, bananas; it definitely gives the locals a source of income that would not otherwise be here” (TTMKI 1).

The results reveal that the sale of marine resources is linked closely to the tourism sector since 26% of the local community that participated in this study was involved in the selling fish and other sea-products to tourism establishments, tourists and the local community.

Although tourism has created economic benefits that are key to the local communities, over the years there have been critical losses and negative impacts incurred on the local community. Key losses related to tourism, in Tofo, are associated with increased numbers of human settlements and tourism establishments in these areas.

Tourism has the potential to inflate the prices of goods, services and land in Tofo and adjacent communities. The local communities are impacted in the sense that they have to compete with tourists and tourism establishments for the use of resources and land. In South Africa and Europe, countries where the majority of tourists come from, people earn higher salaries and have more assets. In Tofo, the price of property is high for the local community and many have been relocated to marginal areas as prime beach land has been sold to tourists and tourism establishments (TTBKI 1). According to the real estate classified, the price of the properties in prime beach land areas may, at present, vary between 10 000 USD to 170 000 USD (<http://realestate.classifieds1000.com/Mozambique/Inhambane> date accessed 20.11.2011)

Tourism also causes a loss of monetary benefits. Money earned from tourism is not re-invested or used for the consumption of goods and services. Money leaks from Mozambique mainly to South Africa, where most of the investors in tourism originate. Foreign owned lodges, for example, request accommodation to be payable only in another country (such as South Africa) and it is not possible to pay in Mozambique. For the government of Mozambique, tourism is regarded as a tool for economic growth, however these economic losses are often overlooked. In Tofo, a Mozambican owned-lodge is one of the few tourism establishments where it is possible to pay in meticals and at the time of arrival. This reflects the uneven distribution of economic benefits in Tofo. Tourism establishments are perceived by the local community as the main beneficiaries of the tourism industry in Mozambique. Jobs in management in the tourism industry are frequently given to foreigners, without any regard to educated, highly skilled locals (TTBKI 1). One of the managers of a lodge that belongs to the local community explained:

“I think tourism establishments are the ones who benefit the most, followed by the government and lastly the coastal communities. For the communities, there are many lodges employing locals, in the market there are a number of opportunities for people to sell goods, fish, crafts, etc. But some lodges are the ones earning big amounts of money”. (TTMKI 2)

Lastly, the seasonality of tourism imposes a negative impact on employment. The tourism industry in Tofo is seasonal and it is difficult for tourism establishments to retain employment during the low seasons. Employees are mainly recruited during the Easter and December (summer) holidays. During low season months, some tourism establishments do not earn any income and some are closed. This situation affects the local community as the livelihoods of local communities become insecure in terms of income. This provides uncertainty and increased reliance on other livelihood strategies and subsistence activities. Local communities become vulnerable to the fluctuations in the tourism industry, particularly due to seasonality (TTFG1).

5.6.1.2 Key social benefits and losses

The social development of Tofo has been influenced by the tourism sector. The social benefits and losses of tourism are described in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 Key social benefits and losses associated with tourism in Tofo

SOCIAL			
Benefits /positive impacts	Source	Losses /negative impacts	Source
1. Opportunities are created for exchange of experiences between locals and tourists (i.e. Culture, values, language)	TTFG1; TTMKI1;	1. Increased social conflicts (i.e. underage drinking, divorces) and social costs (i.e. crime, congestion, bad behaviour)	TTFG1; TWFG1; TDGFG1; TMKI2; TTMKI1;
2. Improved quality and access to basic services	TMSKI1;	2. Relocation of communities to marginal areas for tourism development (ie. prime beach land occupied by tourist lodges)	TTBKI 1;
3. Empowerment of women	TWFG1;	3. Impact on social cohesion of community	TWFG1; TDGFG 1;
4. Education and training	TTFG1; TDGFG 1;	4. Loss of cultural authenticity	TTFG 1; TTFG 1; TWFG 1;

Social benefits perceived by tourism stakeholders and the local communities include the creation of opportunities for local communities and tourists to learn about each others' cultures and customs. Through the interaction between locals and tourists, both parties learn to appreciate new cultures, learn local and foreign languages, discover cultural differences and share different experiences.

In this community, the local population faces a disadvantage in the tourism sector due to low levels of education. Employment in the tourism sector indicates that there is a demand for education and training. There is history of tourists and tourism establishments have given donations to renovate schools in order to enhance the quality of the infrastructure in these communities. Lodges have also established in-house training as a strategy to train the people that they are willing to employ (TTFG 1). Additionally, tourism establishments and other tourism partners and businesses have invested in infrastructure and in the enhancement of the basic services, in particular, the building of water points and electricity posts in these communities. The people in Tofo perceive that these improvements have affected their lives positively and have improved their livelihoods (TTFG 1).

Tourism has been particularly significant due to the empowerment of women. In Tofo, which are dominated by patrilineal societies, many believe that women should stay at home and their main responsibilities are associated with motherhood and work around the house. With tourism, women were given the same chance as men of getting involved in paid employment. From the women's perspective, this has provided increased independence and a sense of self-worth.

“Women have new opportunities to work now, not only selling vegetables at the local market but at the lodges; now women are doing the same things that men have been doing for years” (TTFG 1)

One sign of empowerment of women in the Tofo community is the rising number of women entrepreneurs that are present in Tofo. These women are shop-owners, bar-owners, fish sellers, vegetable sellers, and these women provide services that are needed for the tourism sector to be successful.

In Tofo, the tourism sector has also had negative social impacts. For some, tourism has created conflict. In the community, many locals and tourists drink every night at the local bars. This has incentivized underage drinking in the community, and some have argued that tourism has led to increased crime rates, drug use, prostitution and bad behaviour.

Prostitution, for example, has increased due to the number of foreign tourists looking for sex tourism:

“Prostitution is an increased problem inside the community because there is an increasing number of men and women who dedicate themselves to this activity.” (TTFG 1).

Another important social conflict is that tourism marginalized unskilled people. In the community, people who do not have an education and do not speak a foreign language are not likely to get a job. Although a benefit of tourism has been the cultural interaction between tourists and local communities, including language exchange, some have perceived this to erode the local culture of communities. For some, tourists bring the western values of visitors, which are perceived to clash with local customs. The conflicts that have emerged from the development of tourism in Tofo have decreased the social cohesion of the local communities (TWFG 1; TDGFG 1)

5.6.1.3 Key ecological benefits and losses

Tourism can have positive and negative ecological impacts on the local communities. The ecological benefits of tourism to the local community are described in Table 5.10 below.

Table 5.10: Key ecological benefits and losses associated with tourism in Tofo

ECOLOGICAL			
Benefits /positive impacts	Source	Losses /negative impacts	Source
1. Raised awareness about the environment	TTDKI1;	1. Decline in marine resources	TDGFG1; TTMKI1;
		2. Increased pollution, sewerage and solid waste in community	TTMKI2;

The community living in Tofo rely heavily on marine resources for their basic income and food, but local fishers perceive that due to the development of tourism, a decline in fish stocks. On the other hand, fishers involved with the tourism sector have recognized that the local fishers also threaten the natural environment and the decline in marine resources is one of the ecological losses perceived. Whittington et al. (2000) have pointed out that reefs present in Tofo and Barra were damaged particularly through overexploitation of reef fish as well as the use of harvesting techniques that damage the environment. Also, in some cases, fishers are fishing not only what is allowed by law, but they also harvest protected species such as turtles and sharks. The shells of the turtles as well as the fins of the sharks are of great economic value (TTDKI 1). Tibiriçá et al. (2009) have reported that whale sharks have declined considerably and manta ray populations have also declined since they are targeted for fishing and caught as bycatch. There is no formal record or publication on that has monitored this fishery decline, but it also reflects the perceptions of the local communities..

Diving establishments and divers in Tofo have created awareness in the community about the threat to these species and the reason behind their protection. The long-term existence of diving tourism in these areas depends largely on the behaviour of the fishers. The enhanced awareness of the importance of long-term ecological sustainability is therefore important for

local communities as diving tourism is one of the major tourist attractions in the area. NGOs and diving establishments, particularly in Tofo, have developed projects within the community in order to enhance their knowledge regarding the importance of the natural environment and the need to conserve the resources. One of the outcomes of this initiative was the Shark Finning documentary in Tofo where a number of locals participated in the telling of the story such as Carlos Macuacua. Carlos is the first local dive master in Tofo that is presently involved with the implementation of these workshops within the community.

Another key ecological impact of tourism is linked to infrastructure development at Tofo. The construction of tourism establishments are, in general, on top of sensitive ecosystems, such as primary dunes, adjacent to the mangroves and on the beach. Erosion has been identified as a key concern of the local community, particularly in terms of losses associated with the tourism sector.

Tourism also causes air and visual pollution. In Tofo, air pollution is mainly caused by the transportation used by tourists, such as motorbikes and cars. Visual pollution is mainly associated with uneducated tourists who leave cans, plastic bags and other rubbish materials on the beach (TTFG 1).

In Tofo, no formal models or strategies to enhance benefits to local communities have been put in place by the government or private sector regarding the tourism sector. Reasons for the lack of benefit sharing strategies in Tofo are discussed in greater detail in section 8.2. There has been a history of small ad-hoc interventions where tourists visit the area and give donations to schools and help build small infrastructure; however, these interventions are single events that occur sporadically. Despite the efforts of NGOs such as AMAR and SNV, local communities did not perceive these institutions as enhancing benefits to them. Results from the household survey indicated that only 1% of the respondents in Tofo knew about AMAR. Aware of the benefits received by the adjacent community of Barra, one Tofo basket seller explained her frustration:

“I think more could be done in terms of tourism in the area. For example, in Barra there are so many projects. The lodges help the school, the clinic, artists can go inside the lodges and sell their art there, and they have water points everywhere... It is benefits, benefits, benefits for the community! So many people there are employed.

For us in Tofo, no one wants to help. Some tourists come and sometimes they give money to buy school material or chairs but in general that is it!” (TBSKI 1).

In summary, the community have stated that the losses due to tourism are greater than the benefits. Although tourism has brought tangible benefits, the effects of the incurred losses on the local communities are much greater. Local communities benefit economically from employment and income. However, factors such as the seasonality of the employment sector, economic benefits leaving the community and the inflation of prices due to tourism pose greater threats to the livelihoods of local communities. Socially, the opportunity for tourists to exchange experiences with locals has created negative impacts on the communities such as increased social conflicts, decreased social cohesion and loss of the local culture due to the adoption of foreign languages and Western values and behaviours. Ecologically, tourism has threatened many of the natural resources in the area and has increased pollution adjacent to areas where the local community is settled. These negative impacts are perceived to be greater than the raised awareness that particular organizations and diving schools have promoted inside the communities. Although some benefits have been identified through tourism initiatives, they can be enhanced, and losses minimized, through direct interventions such as benefit-sharing strategies implemented under tourism models that aim to influence the way benefits are redistributed to local communities.

5.6.2 Private Sector – Community Model

In this section, specific strategies that have been initiated in Barra to enhance benefits to local communities are discussed. It is important to note that the prevalent model of tourism in Barra is conventional mass tourism, however the private sector – community model, initiated by Barra Resorts Group, represents an active attempt by the private sector to enhance benefits to local communities.

Barra Resorts Group has two resorts in Barra: Barra Lodge and Flamingo Bay Lodge. In other areas of the Inhambane Province, they have two other lodges: Pomene Lodge and Bamboozi Lodge. The Barra Resorts Group has been established in Inhambane since 1996.

The initiatives to benefit the local communities in Barra began in 2001 by Dave Law, a co-owner and co-founder of Barra Resorts Group who believes that “if you look after the

community, the community looks after you” (Mutimucoio, 2009:5). Barra Resorts Group includes investors from South Africa and Mozambique. The aim of the Group is to ensure that people’s lives are affected by tourism in a positive way and that local development is promoted by the establishment of tourism businesses in the area (BMKI 1). This group has used an approach that includes the seven mechanisms for poverty reduction of the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO). These are: employment of the poor in tourism enterprises; supply of goods and services to tourism enterprises by the poor; direct sales of goods and services to visitors by the poor; establishment and running of tourism enterprises by the poor; tax or levy on tourism income or profits with proceeds benefiting the poor; voluntary giving/support by tourism enterprises and tourists; and investment in infrastructure stimulated by tourism also benefiting the poor in the locality (WTO, 2004 cited by Mutimucoio, 2009).

Barra Resorts Group has established relationships with the local community through the formation of an informal community group. This is made up of individuals who have close social and informal relationships with the people from Barra Resorts Group, arrange meetings with them to explain the difficulties of the community and help identify their needs. The Barra Resorts Group then determines the extent to which they are able to help. This is an informal Benefit sharing mechanism that facilitates the identification and implementation of benefits to the local community. Barra Resorts Group argues that the informal nature of their partnership with the community minimizes outside pressures from local government officials or traditional structures to involve themselves in the redistribution of benefits to the local communities (BTMKI 1).

5.6.2.1 Benefit-sharing Strategy: Corporate Social Responsibility

For the private sector-community model, corporate social responsibility has been the benefit sharing strategy in place in order to enhance benefits to the local communities. Corporate social responsibility is a framework through which private sector institutions act “in a socially responsible fashion [...] to strive to utilize the resource at its disposal as efficiently as possible in producing the goods and services that society wants at prices consumers are willing to pay” (Heal, 2008: 2). In the light of a local community that lacks basic skills and have limited income opportunities, Barra Resorts Group, through corporate

social responsibility, established livelihood projects through the help of SNV. According to Mutimucuo (2009), one of the bigger challenges in this community was water availability. This concern was addressed by Barra Resorts Group that has provided clean and potable water to the Conguiana community and two other surrounding communities which has benefited approximately 4 000 people. Access to safe water in Mozambique is a major challenge particularly for communities living in the rural areas (Fiege et al., 2004). These livelihood projects have created a number of additional outcomes to the local communities.

5.6.2.1.1 Key Outcomes from CSR in Barra

Table 5.10 depicts the key benefits that are perceived by people who are employed by Barra Resort and benefit from other tourism-related activities, as well as the wider community. The ranking of benefits with smiley faces represents the satisfaction of the local community with the benefit, depending on the impact that specific benefit had on their livelihoods.

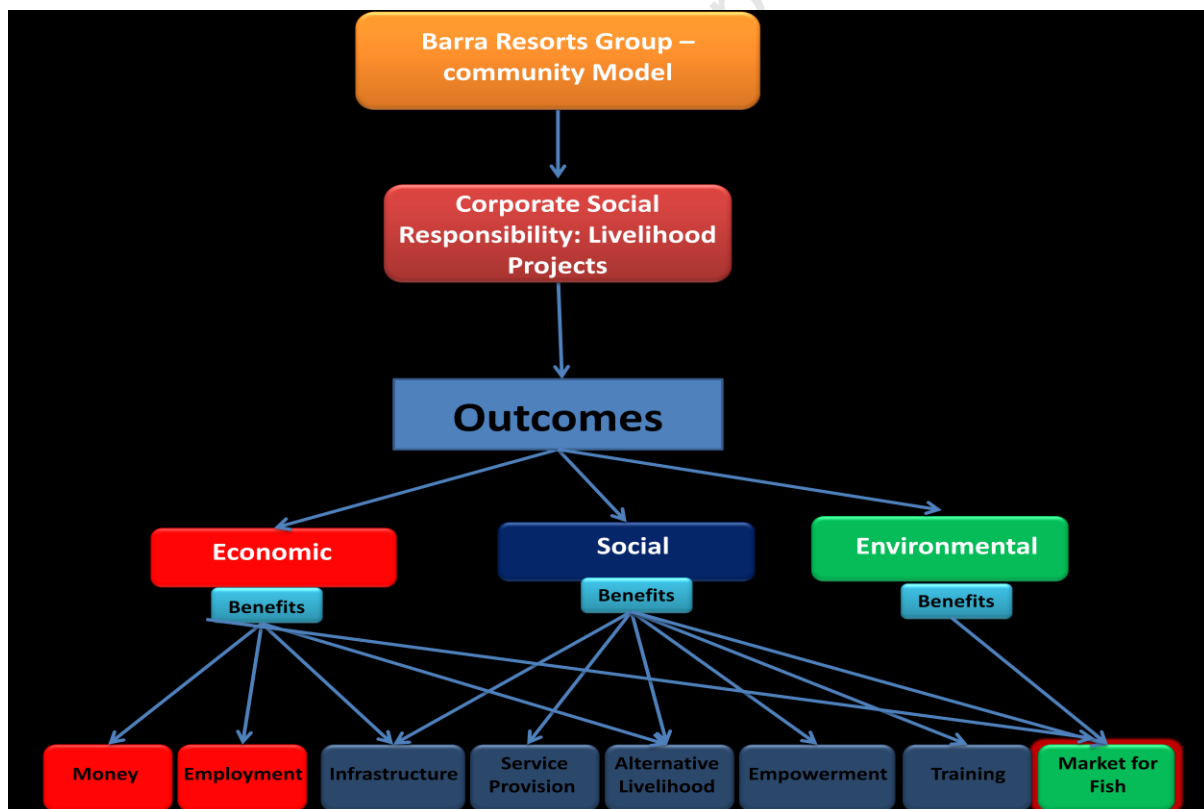


Figure 5.6 Key benefits from Benefit sharing mechanisms

Of the initiatives established by Barra Resorts Group, the most significant to the local communities was service provision, which was ranked top by four focus groups: the Dynamizing Group, the people benefiting from tourism, the people employed in tourism and the employees of Barra Resorts Group. One of the participants in the focus group with the Dynamizing Group remarked:

“Dave Law, through Barra Resorts Group, has helped the Conguiana community as he gave water to the local community and has also ensured that water reached the local school and the health centre.” (BDGFG 1)

Prior to the establishment of Barra Resorts Group, locals had to walk between four and fifteen kilometres to reach the only water point (Mutimucuo, 2009). Through this initiative, the community living in Barra has easy access to water pumps and the clinic has been supplied with non-stop running water (BDGFG 1).

Empowerment of women has been considered a significant impact brought about by the initiatives of Barra noted established that women became empowered through the interventions established by Barra Resorts Group, particularly because they are presently involved in selling fish to the lodges and tourists, selling vegetables and showing tourists the local culture and traditions (BDGFG 1).

Employment and the creation of an alternative to the livelihoods of the local communities are another two important impacts from tourism initiatives that were established by Barra Resorts Group. According to one of the managers of a tourism establishment that is owned by the Barra Resorts Group, people in the local community benefit directly or indirectly through employment or through the supply of goods to the tourism establishments (BTMKI 1). One of the participants of the focus group with people employed in the Barra Resorts Group explained that:

“One of the benefits is the employment of locals in resorts from Barra Group and therefore we are able to buy clothes, shoes, food, help the elderly as well as construction of our houses” (BTFG 2)

The people employed in the Barra Resorts Group also explained that one of the main benefits that were associated with employment is the money they receive from the lodge as wages

(BTFG 2). The people employed in tourism and the people benefiting from tourism (but not directly employed from tourism) did not perceive money as a key benefit from tourism in the area (BTFG 1, BTFG 3). This is particularly important in the sense that although the three groups receive monetary benefits from the activities that are involved in, a greater value has been put on this benefit by the people employed in Barra Resorts Group. Barra Resorts Group has been identified as the top employer in the Barra community as this Group employs 320 people, 90% of whom belong to the surrounding communities. In the Inhambane Peninsula, this corresponds to approximately 21% of the total tourism workforce (Mutimucoio, 2009).

Alternative livelihoods have also been an important benefit for the local community as linkages have been created with other sectors. Participants in the group of people benefiting from tourism argued that:

“Tourists like to buy, therefore we sell handicrafts, vegetables, capulanas and other things, therefore we get money for it (...). Vegetables and handicrafts are also sold to and inside the lodges in the community” (BTFG 3)

Barra Lodge, one of the tourism establishments owned by Barra Resorts Group, has created a market for crafts that are locally made. Artisans are able to make and sell their crafts inside the lodge and their “shops” are positioned right in the center of the lodge therefore tourists that are coming or going to the beach are likely to buy from them. Mutimucoio (2009) notes that this market, which is established in the premises of one of the Barra Resorts Groups, has helped approximately 14 artisans and consequently their families to benefit directly from the strategy.

Additionally, linkages have been established between the tourism sector and the fisheries sector. Regarding the establishment of a market for fish in Barra, one of the fishers from the local community stated that although fish is sold to the wider community, Barra Resorts Group is an important player as a market for fish:

“Tourism is good because we get a lot of money from tourism establishments (...) for our fish. If there is big fish, I know for sure that is going to be sold to the South Africans. Otherwise, I will go to one of the lodges, such as Barra Lodge or Flamingo Bay, and they are going to buy it.” (BFSKI 2)

Overall, Barra Resorts Group has established linkages with the local community in the supply of goods such as fishery products, agriculture and handicrafts and services so both parties benefit.

With reference to the Barra Resorts Group initiatives, impacts such as infrastructure and training were not ranked as significantly as the benefits that were described above. In terms of infrastructure, Mutimucio (2009) has described that a pedestrian bridge was built in collaboration with the local community in order to cut the distance that local communities had to walk to reach the local clinic but the local community has said that although it is important, it does not benefit those who live far away (BTFG 2). In the community, improvement of infrastructure includes the maintenance of the bridge and also the repairing and maintenance of the road that provides the main access to the lodges and beaches which is done yearly. This has made communication and transportation less burdensome and saves time for over 1 000 families in the community (Mutimucio, 2009).

Barra Resorts Group is also involved in internal training courses that are linked to employment and social programs inside the community. Again, although this is a significant benefit, only the current employees of Barra Resorts Group are benefiting so this does not reach the wider community.

Although there are benefits in having an informal arrangement, Barra Resorts Group has also recognized that there may be drawbacks such as the lack of a formal structure to implement these initiatives, which are the corporate social responsibility of Barra Resorts Group (Mutimucio, 2009). It has been argued that this is particularly important for tracking the flow of money spent on these activities as there is no monitoring system for the donations given by tourists for investment. For this reason, Barra Resorts Group has begun to engage with an NGO, SNV, and have therefore collaborated to develop further initiatives that will enhance benefits to the poor (Mutimucio, 2009). This partnership between Barra Resorts Group and SNV would be in line with one of the mechanisms that SNV follows in terms of tourism called Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) where “local NGOs or trusts may help develop mechanisms for the collection and dispersal of donations” (Mutimucio, 2009:9).

5.7 Impacts and linkages between tourism and fisheries sector in Tofo and Barra

Tourism is one sector that affects the economy and the lives of local communities. For this reason, it is important to analyze the linkages between the tourism sector and other sectors such as fisheries. In Tofo and Barra, the most significant linkages are between the tourism and the fisheries sectors and the positive and negative impacts that these linkages have on the local communities.

In coastal zones, such as in Tofo and Barra, the tourism and fisheries sectors are inter-related. This relationship between the two sectors has both positive and negative impacts on the livelihoods of local communities. According to data gathered in the focus groups, the history of fisheries in both communities dates back over four decades but recently the development of tourism has contributed to changes in the dynamics of local communities as well as to the environment. The main settlements and infrastructure for tourism are located near the shore in Tofo and Barra which means that the beach is intensely used for recreation throughout the year.

Tourism establishments, mostly the lodges, hotels and restaurants, provide a market for the fishery products of Tofo and Barra as fish and seafood are one of the main attractions of these areas. Tourists who visit the area also buy their fish and seafood from the local market and from local fishers. For these reasons, the tourism sector serves as an important market for the fishing sector. In Tofo and Barra, there is also a local market for fish as fishery products are also sold to the local communities. The tourism sector provides a market for fish. As one of the fish sellers explained:

“Tourism is a good thing for my fish stall because the tourists buy the bigger fish that makes me earn more money. People who buy my fish are mostly South Africans. In general, locals buy the smaller fish.” (TFSKI 2).

In Tofo and Barra, fishers are dependent on the tourism sector for the selling of fish. However the availability of the fish in the sea is becoming a recurrent problem in the reefs along the coast in the Inhambane peninsula (Fiege et al., 2004, TFSKI 1). The fisheries and coastal habitats of Tofo and Barra are under pressure due to the increased number of human

settlements as well as the increased tourism numbers over the years (Fiege et al., 2004). A fish seller, concerned with the decline of the fish stocks in the area, explains:

“There has been a change in the fish over the years. Before we could catch so much in a day and now sometimes we go out and catch nothing. I think the fact that we have to catch a lot to sell to tourists and all the lodges and restaurants is one of the main reasons why the fish are disappearing. I remember my dad bringing big fish home, because he sold all the rest he had caught and he saved that big one for us; now we try to sell all the big fish and eat the small one.” (TFSKI 1)

People who are employed in, and benefit from, tourism perceive that marine resources are declining in Tofo and Barra (i.e. 72% and 58% respectively). The results of the household survey indicated that the decline of fish in the area is associated with unsustainable and uncontrolled use of resources, the increased number of fishermen in the area, and an increase in the number of illegal fishers (those who fish without permits). Fishers stated that over the years fish have disappeared from the sea and have become smaller. The fishers perceive that this decline is mainly associated with increased pressure on the environment due to diving tourism, climate change. Fishers also perceive that a challenge in relation to their ability to fish is the lack of financial resources for them to buy sustainable gear for fishing. The decline of fishery products and the large demand for these products from tourists and the local community has resulted in an increase in the price of fish and seafood products in Tofo and Barra.

A similar conflict has also occurred between fishers and diving operators. Diving tourism has developed in Tofo and Barra during the last decade as the marine environment in these areas provides excellent conditions for scuba diving (BTDKI 1). Diving tourism occurs in the near-shore reefs in Tofo and Barra. However these reefs are also being used by the fishers in the area. A local fisher and fish seller in Tofo explained their concern with diving tourism:

“When the divers are around, the fish get scared because of the masks and the gear they use; therefore we can’t take any fish to eat or to sell. This is our sea, and now we can’t even take the food we need every day. If divers continue here people are going to die from hunger.” (TFSKI 2)

On the other hand, the people involved with diving in Tofo and Barra are afraid that recreational and subsistence fishers are going to cause overfishing. Also, they perceive diving as an activity that does not harm the coral reef, giving it an opportunity to regenerate.

Tourism operators perceive fishers as very harmful to the coral reefs. One of the lodge owners described the negative effects of fishers on the reefs,

“Adverse effects such as anchor damage; destruction of the reef because of nets that get entangled; protected species such as mantas as well as whale sharks and turtles are being poached illegally and there is nothing we can do about it.” (TTMKI 2)

For the tourism and diving tourism sector, it is important to conserve the reef for future generations as well as for the growth of their businesses. Fishers argue that fishing is the only way that they can secure their survival. However, one of the managers of a diving shop argued that fishers are using fishing not only for survival but also as income generation activities that extend beyond survival strategies .

“The guy who was chopping the sting ray told me that this was his survival and he said to me.. why don’t you give me a job? And I told him, yes I will give you a job but I want your boat as well and he said NO, the boat has to carry on fishing. The government has to implement something that is fair for everybody and to conserve. And I do understand that when they come back with their nets to the beach, there are pretty women waiting with their buckets to take the fish; those women are taking the fish back to the market and re-selling them. It’s okay, it’s business but it is not for survival anymore.” (BTDKI 1)

There have also been conflicts between the local communities and hoteliers over access of the fishers to the coastal resources, especially over the landing sites. Fishers have been landing their boats in specific locations over many years. However with the development of tourism along the beach, conflicts over space and access have arisen. One of the fishers in the community in Barra explained his perspective of the conflict:

“Before, I use to land my boat in front of the houses with green roofs. Now it is not possible anymore. As they say: "you can’t park here". It was easier for me to take my boat home or store it but now we found a place where we can leave our boats until the next day otherwise it is too far to carry it.” (BFSKI 2)

The linkage between the tourism and the fisheries sector has the potential to create both benefits and losses for the local communities. For example, the tourism sector can enhance the monetary benefits to local fishers through the creation of a market for fish to tourism establishments and tourists. Although a positive relationship can bring positive outcomes,

conflicts between the two sectors can generate increased animosity between the fishers and the tourism operators, particularly when the conflicts are not being resolved.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the impact and influence of the tourism sector in Tofo and Barra. The tourism sector has provided social, economic and ecological benefits to these local communities. Nevertheless, this sector has also caused losses in the livelihoods of the local communities. Employment, money, empowerment of women and exchange of experiences are some of the benefits while the negative impacts include inflation of prices, threatening of natural resources and decreased authenticity of local culture. It is however clear from the results of this study that there is a lack of understanding by local authority structures and provincial structures of their specific role in terms of management of marine resources and the tourism sector. In terms of mechanisms that enhance benefits to the local community, Barra Resorts Group is currently the only institution providing targeted benefits. The local community benefits from these interventions, through employment, education and training, sponsoring of local businesses and the promotion of basic services. However, these interventions are informal and therefore it is difficult to assess their level of equity and value. Nevertheless, efforts are currently being made by Barra Resorts Group to address these problems through the help of SNV.

Chapter 6 Gala Case Study Results

6.1 Introduction

Gala is a rural and marginalized community that suffers from limited livelihood strategies. This community is dependent on coastal resources, particularly fisheries, agriculture and forestry for food and employment. Tourism has been developed recently in the local community through a community-based lodge that was established in partnership with a non-governmental organization (NGO). This Northern NGO, Helvetas, has established a series of strategies within the local community to enhance Benefit sharing, with a particular focus on the tourism sector. During this process, Helvetas staff involved in this Benefit sharing project started a Mozambican NGO called Lupa that took over the project in Gala. For the purpose of this study, the NGO will be referred to as Helvetas/Lupa. The Gala community is located in the buffer zone of the Maputo Elephant Reserve and communities living inside conservation areas receive 20% of the revenue generated by tourism. This chapter describes the historical context of Gala and the actors and institutions involved in decision-making in the area. It also provides a description of the socio-economic circumstances of this community. The Benefit sharing mechanisms that have led to increased benefits to the local community from tourism are explored.

6.2 Gala: Historical context

The Gala community is situated in the Matutuine district, located 95 km south of Maputo city. This area is adjacent to the Mozambican and South African border, and is located in the buffer zone of the Maputo Elephant Reserve. The Maputo Elephant Reserve falls under the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area and is administered by the Mozambican National Forestry and Wildlife Department (Kloppers, 2001). The Gala community has 36 households and approximately 300 people, which includes 33 families (MNGOKI 1).

The Maputo Elephant Reserve was established in 1932 (Kloppers, 2006). In 1933, the Reserve was called “Reserva dos Changos” (GANFG 1). Hunting tourism was one of the main activities practiced by a Portuguese man called José Fernandes Carreira. At the time, tourists from different parts of the world would come to the Reserve for hunting. The price of

the animals was dependent on the size of the animal that was killed. Big animals were more expensive than smaller animals. During this time, many people from the local communities living adjacent to or inside the Reserve were migrating to South Africa because of *chibalo* or forced labour. As the southern parts of Mozambique were occupied by the Portuguese, the pressure on forced labour increased (Bowen, 2000 cited by Kloppers, 2001). Local people tried to avoid forced labour by working in South Africa, particularly on large farms, as well as on coal and gold mines (GANFG 1). Table 6.1 presents a timeline of key events in the Gala community, as identified in focus group discussions and key informant interviews.

1930s - 1940s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of Reserva dos Changos • <i>Chibalo</i> or forced labour
1950s – 1960s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reserva dos changos becomes Maputo Special Reserve • Communities had access to forest resources
1970s and 1980s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1975 - Independence of Mozambique • 1984 - Civil war started
1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1992 - Beginning of the Peace process in Mozambique • 1996 - Concession to Maputo Elephant Reserve was issued for Blanchard – an American investor • 1999 - Blanchard dies
2000 - 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2002 - NGO Helvetas approached Gala community • 2004 - Tinti Gala lodge is established in Gala
2005 - 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2008 - 1st tourism community levy paid to the local community • 2008 - Helvetas became LUPA • 2009 - 2nd tourism community levy paid to the local community

Figure 6.1 Timeline of key events in Gala community

Source: (GWFG1; GTFG1; GFFG1; GANFG1).

In 1955, the Reserve, which was previously called “Reserva dos Changos”, changed its name to the Maputo Special Reserve. Hunting tourism was still the only tourism practiced in the area. Carreira changed the name of the Reserve because he was going to import some animals from South Africa to attract more tourists. At this time, it was free for Mozambican Nationals

to go through the Reserve (GANFG 1). However, there remained few employment opportunities in the area. As a result, local people, and especially the men in Gala, were migrating to South Africa for work (GANFG 1).

The year of 1975 marked the Independence of Mozambique. At this time, there was no tourism in the area. The Gala community still had their houses inside the Reserve and they were harvesting forest and coastal resources to make a living. The local community did not perceive significant changes immediately after independence (GANFG 1). At the beginning of the 1980s, FRELIMO forced local people to move out of the Reserve and the relationship between the local community and the Reserve authorities worsened (Kloppers, 2001). The local community remembered that in 1984 communities were forced to move to communal villages during the civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO (GANFG 1). These were areas initially created around the country as a result of security concerns (Manning, 2002). RENAMO had established such villages in areas very close to Gala, namely Belavista, Salamanga and Ponta do Ouro (Haanland, 2008). Many people started to migrate to South Africa, Zimbabwe and other neighbouring countries as yet again, local communities refused to move to the communal villages. The attacks on local people who refused to move to these communal areas were very violent (GANFG 1). As one fish seller described them:

“I saw my house burning, right in front of my eyes. They would not care who would be inside, they would just burn. They burnt everything, killed our animals.” (GFSKI 1).

In 1992, peace agreements were signed between the two political parties. This marked the rebirth of tourism in the area. There was a growing interest in tourism from foreign investors because of the attractiveness of the coast and close proximity to South Africa. At this time, there were few people left in Gala. Some people started to return soon after independence but the majority were still too scared to do so (GANFG 1; GFFG 1).

By 1994, many of the previous inhabitants of the Gala community had returned to the area where they were previously settled and were harvesting forest and coastal resources. The growing interest by foreign investors in Mozambique land led to a concession being given to one American investor called James Ulysses Blanchard III who was granted a 50 year land concession in the Machangulo Peninsula (Hatton and Massinga, 1996). This concession

stretched from Inhaca island all the way down to Kosi Bay, the border between South Africa and Mozambique and included the Reserve and the adjacent communities.

In 1997, Blanchard brought additional animals to the Reserve. The project designed by Blanchard and his team promised jobs and benefits to the local communities (GANFG 1). The communities felt very happy in the beginning because they were promised employment opportunities but these never materialised (GANFG 1). The Blanchard occupation was marked by the construction of a fence along the Futi River and around the Reserve. This fence was built on top of communities' agricultural land and they were promised some kind of compensation. However, once again, Blanchard never paid or compensated the local communities for the land or the trees he harvested (GANFG 1).

In the local community, which expected benefits and jobs, it was perceived that Blanchard was doing something positive for them. After a couple of months, however, it was clear that access to some parts of the Reserve and to the River had been blocked (GANFG 1). Besides blocking access to resources, Blanchard never hired local people for work:

“Communities tried to kill Blanchard because he was blocking access to natural resources inside the forest. After this event, Blanchard decided to let communities use forest and coastal resources” (GANFG 1).

During this time, local hunting inside the Reserve was prohibited and people felt that they were suffering a lot. It was proposed to the communities that it would be best if they moved out of the Reserve. The people from Gala community were promised agricultural land to cultivate but this did not happen. In 1998, communities were re-located to the buffer zones of the Reserve (GANFG 1).

In 1999, Blanchard died. People from Gala felt very happy and the concession given to Blanchard was cancelled:

“People were happy because he was the reason why their access to the Reserve was being blocked. Even if Blanchard had promised benefits to local communities, because we perceived him as a bad man, we had no expectations.” (GANFG 1).

During this period, a Swiss NGO, Helvetas, which had been established in the area since 1984, started a mediation process in local communities. This NGO was concerned about the consequences of the concession on the rights of local communities to access land as well as

their participation process (Haanland, 2008). The mediating process of Helvetas involved a project called Rural Development in the Maputo Province, where discussions were initiated between the parties involved (Muthemba, no date cited by Haanland, 2008).

In 2002, Helvetas approached the Gala community for the first time. They introduced themselves to the Gala community by talking to the Secretário and traditional authority. They introduced the concept of ecotourism and supplied information to the communities concerning their rights to land and resources. This was done through the use of theatre so that the community would become more aware of their rights. Helvetas also assisted the Gala community in the delimitation process and the registering of their land (GTFG 1). The Land Law recognizes customary rights to land and provides for local communities to formalize their communal rights through a process of delimitation and registration (Hanlaand, 2008). Delimitation is the process whereby a formal set of boundaries is established and community land is registered (Hanlaand, 2008). For the Gala community, land was officially delimited and registered subsequent to the Land Law being promulgated in 1997 (Haanland, 2008).

In 2004, Tinti Gala lodge opened its doors for the first time and a Tourism Committee was established through the help of Helvetas. Livelihood projects were initiated by Helvetas after the opening of the lodge in order to create additional strategies for the enhancement of benefits to the local community. Benefits to the local community were also enhanced through revenue channelled via the income generated through tourism in Reserves. In the Maputo Elephant Reserve, local communities have benefited on a yearly basis from this revenue. The payment of 20% of the revenue to local communities is regarded a way to provide income to communities living adjacent to reserves (Johnstone et al., 2004). In 2008, the first revenue was given to the community from the 20% community levy. 2009 marked the second time the community of Gala received the community levy.

The historical background of Gala demonstrates the fragile livelihoods of the local communities in the areas. This community was faced with colonial occupation and a violent civil war and the Blanchard concessions that threatened and destroyed the livelihoods of local people. In Gala, significant developments in tourism emerged due to the involvement of an NGO, and for this reason local people started to gain benefits. The next section will outline the actors and institutions that are part of decision-making in the local community.

6.3 Background description and socio-economic circumstances

6.3.1 A Profile of the Gala Community

Gala is a small coastal savannah community in southern Mozambique. This community, consistent with the trend in Southern Mozambique, is a patrilineal society (Haanland, 2008). Although the local community is of Mozambican origin and are ethnically Ronga or Shangaan, isiZulu is the primary language spoken due to the close proximity to South Africa (Haanland, 2008). Table 6.1 depicts the socio-economic characteristics of the Gala community.

Table 6.1 Profile of Gala

Community	Gala
Number of villages	1
Estimated homesteads	36
Number of households surveyed	33
Gender	Males - 58 % Females - 42 %
% of households headed by females	26%
Average Age	43 ±17
Marital Status	Married - 47 % Single – 31 % Other – 22 % ⁹
Main area of origin of respondents	Outside this village

Source: Household surveys, 2009.

In Gala, women and men have the same rights. Nevertheless, men are recognized as household heads and the family assets are under their care (Haanland, 2008). For this reason, the number of households headed by females is smaller than the number headed by males. Women in the community run the households and children assist them with collecting wood for fuel, fetching water and cooking. The local community originated mainly from outside Gala due to extensive migrations between Mozambique and South Africa (Haanland, 2008). Twenty six percent of the respondents were born in the area where they currently live and

⁹Others include separated, divorced and widow (er)

74% of people are originally from outside Gala due to the civil war as well as personal reasons such as marriage and family living in the area. The average age is 43, and most young people have moved to other parts of Mozambique or to South Africa in order to find other livelihood opportunities.

6.3.2 Household characteristics

Houses in Gala are largely made of reeds and corrugated iron. The average number of households is one per homestead and homesteads are widely scattered. There is no electricity supply and firewood is used as the main energy source and for cooking.

Table 6.2 Household characteristics

	Gala
Main material for construction	Walls - Reeds (97%) Roof - Corrugated iron (94%)
Average number of households	1 (51%) ; 2 (26%)
Average number of people	2 (75%)
Main household energy source	Firewood (94%)
Main household cooking source	Firewood (91%)
Main household water source	Open unprotected well (66%) Groundwater (28%)

6.3.3 Literacy and Employment in Gala

Figure 6.2 depicts the education levels in Gala. A high percentage (79%) of local people has no formal education at all, or received education only up to Grade 6. This is largely due to the

fact that youngsters are crossing to South Africa to look for work because there are few opportunities available in Gala. Also, there is no secondary school in the community, requiring local children to travel to adjacent communities for further education.

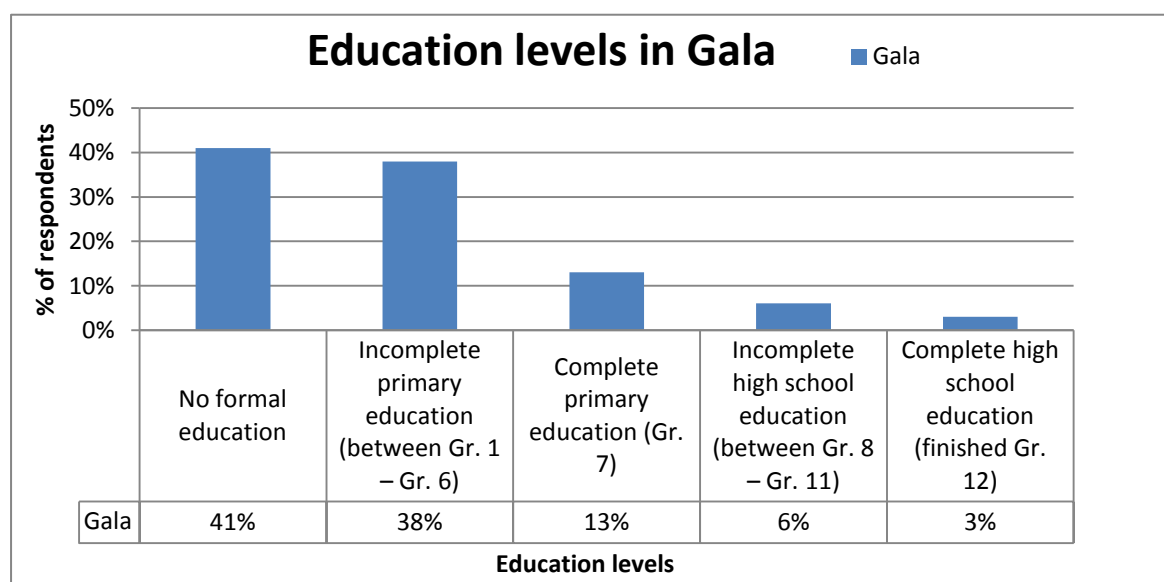


Figure 6.2 Education in Gala

The unemployment rate in the community is high. There is a higher percentage of people who are unemployed (28%) than employed (22%) in the community. Local people have an average income of less than \$45 per month, independent of their occupation. The other 50% of people are self-employed, involved in activities that give them some kind of income, such as short-term jobs, harvesting food, fuel and medicinal plants and selling vegetables, fruits and palm wine in a market on the border of South Africa and Mozambique. Other activities that were observed in the field were cattle grazing and goat herding. This explains the fact that although people are unemployed, they have other sources of monthly income (Figures 6.3 and 6.4).

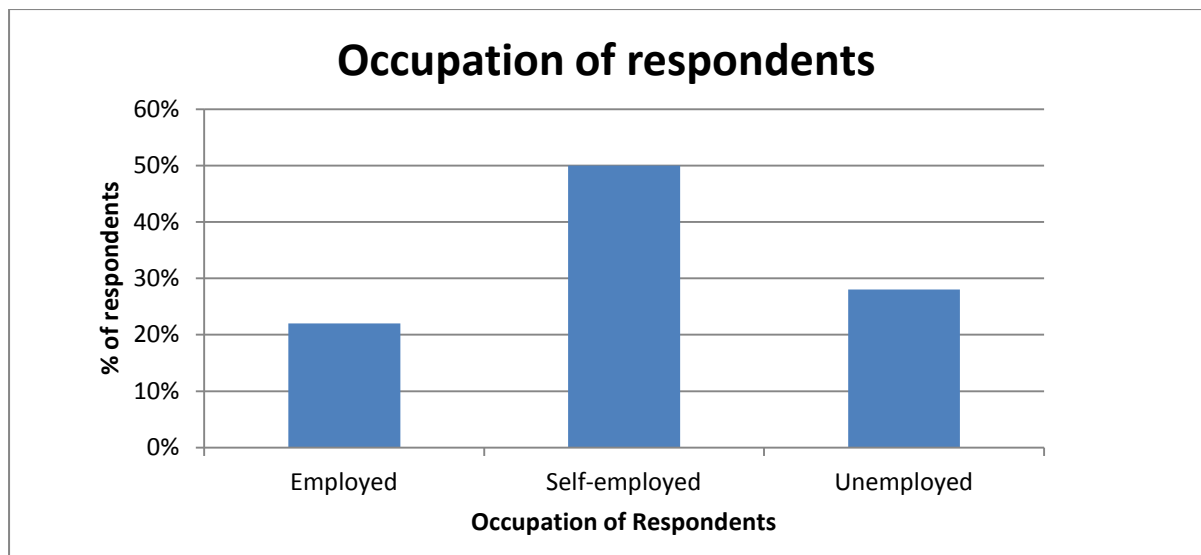


Figure 6.3 Occupation of respondents in Gala

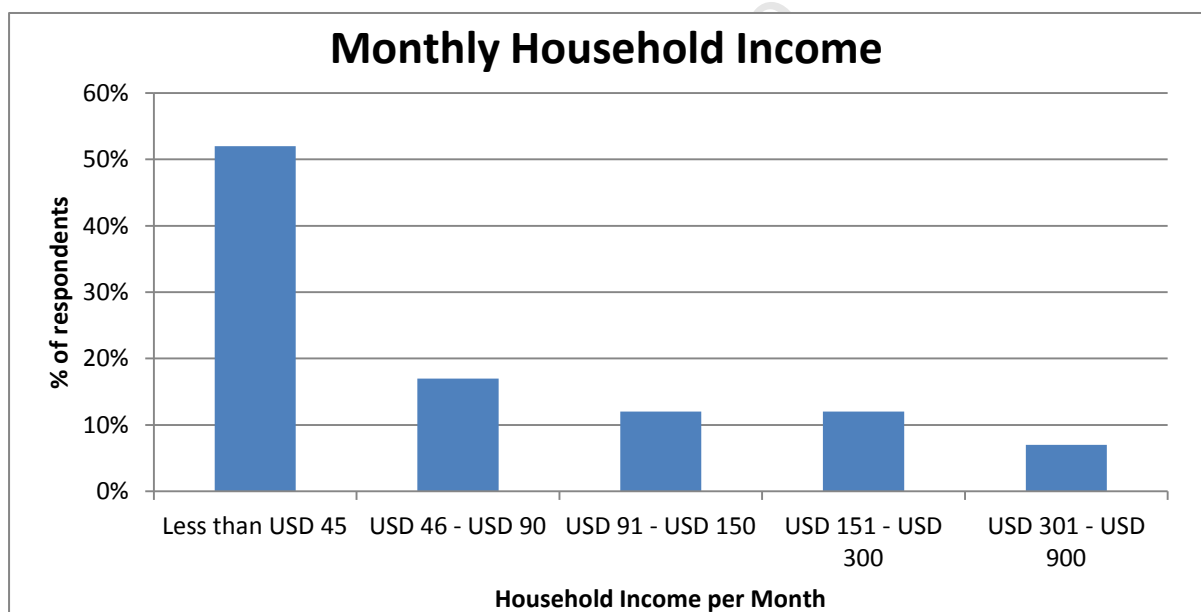


Figure 6.4 Monthly Household Income of respondents in Gala

Local people are employed in the tourism sector, on a farm and as a teacher at the local school. A large proportion of the household heads are self-employed as they have their own farms or fish. The sale of marine resources and the sale of crops are therefore two very important activities for the livelihood of the Gala community (See Figure 6.5). Other activities in which the local community is involved include shop owners and traders. There

are a couple of shops in Gala that supply the local community with food products and non-food products. Food products include salt, rice, sugar, pasta, canned tuna, canned sardine and beverages. Non-food products include soap, matches, pans and others.

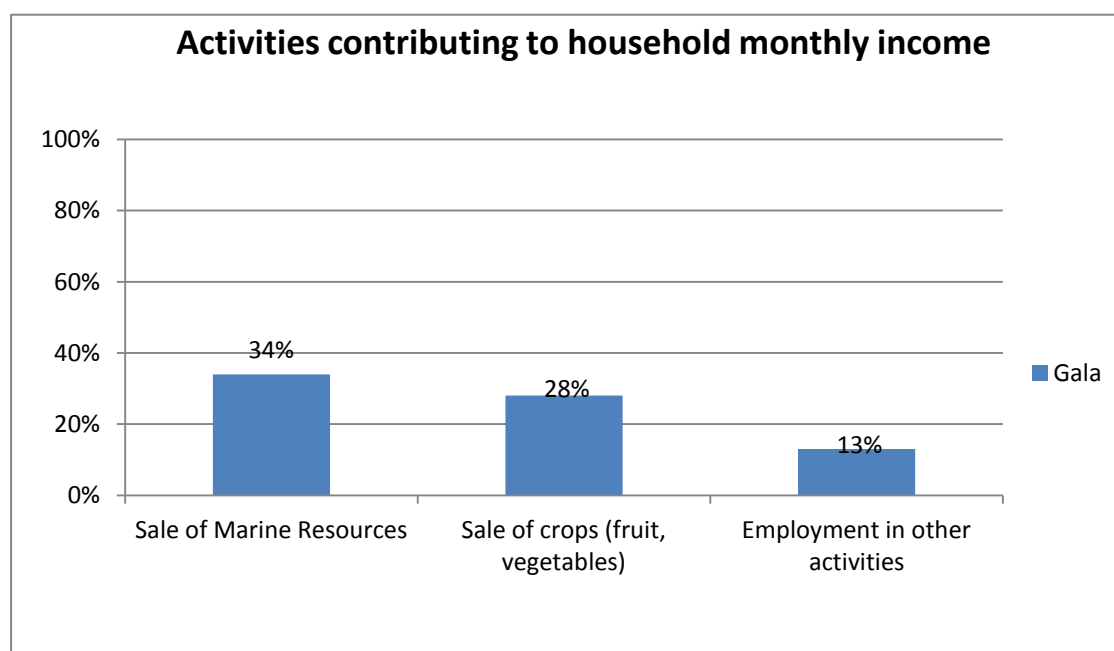


Figure 6.5 Household Income contributing activities in Gala

The Gala community is a poor community that does not have electricity, running water, tarred roads, or other basic services. There is only one school that offers primary education, and there is a clinic. There are limited livelihood opportunities for the local community. Farming, fishing, forestry and tourism are some of the sectors that are important sources of both food and income. In the next section, the use of natural resources by the local community is explored.

6.4 Actors and institutions in tourism in Gala

The community groups and key informants in Gala identified a series of actors and institutions that have the most decision making power in their day-to-day lives. These are the Secretary, the traditional authority, the Tourism Committee, conservation officers, Lupa Organization and the National Government. Table 6.3 outlines the actors at national, provincial and local level and their roles in terms of tourism.

Table 6.3 Sphere, actors and their roles in the tourism sector in Gala

Sphere	Actors/Institutions	Role
National Government ¹⁰	Tourism Ministry	Responsible for management of tourism development in all spheres of government
	Conservation Officers	Responsible for ensuring that tourism levy is paid at the entrance of Reserve and law enforcement in terms of coastal resources
Local		
Government	Secretary of neighbourhood (FRELIMO party representative)	Responsible for conflict resolution, policing, justice enforcement as well as civic education.
	Dynamizing Group	Responsible for conflict discussion and resolution and land administration
Traditional Structure	Traditional Authority	Responsible for conflict resolution and intervenes in land concessions, is responsible for offenders and sorcery and takes care of all the traditional issues in the community (i.e. traditional/cultural ceremonies)
Committee	Community Association of the Tinti Gala lodge (Tourism Committee)	Responsible for all matters relating to the management of the lodge and decisions in terms of benefits to the local community
Non-Governmental Organizations	Helvetas/Lupa	Responsible for setting up Tinti Gala lodge (financial and development support of the lodge), training in land rights, delimitation of the lodge and creation of additional livelihood initiatives for the local community

The Government of Mozambique, through the Ministry of Tourism, is in charge of the facilitation and management of tourism development in the country (Chambal, 2008). Gala is situated in the Maputo Province. Maputo is the capital of Mozambique, therefore there is no Provincial Government, there is only National Government. At national level, conservation officers are in charge of the different sectors inside the Reserve that the community uses, such as fisheries and forestry. Additionally, the reserve management is in charge of collecting the entrance fee for the Reserve. Law enforcement, in terms of the types of trees and plants that can be harvested and laws over fishing in the lagoon, are under the responsibility of the conservation officers (GCAKI 1).

¹⁰ There is no provincial government because Gala is situated in the Maputo Province that is governed by the National Government

At the local level, in the period post-independence, the Secretary was appointed by the National Government, replacing the Traditional Authorities, which had an affiliation with the opposition party, RENAMO. The Secretary ensures that all the community matters and affairs, especially in terms of conflict resolution, are solved. Nevertheless, in Gala, a dual administration system is present, where traditional structures work alongside the formal structures appointed by the government. For this reason, the traditional authority is the third most important structure in the power dynamics of the local community.

In Gala, the traditional authority or *régulo* holds traditional power and is in charge of conflict resolution, distribution of land for agriculture and traditional rituals and ceremonies in the community. However, in terms of decision-making, the Secretary has a broader scope in solving the local community's conflicts and ensuring that decisions are made which enhance benefits to the community.

For the development of the Tinti Gala lodge, a non-governmental organization called Helvetas (presently called Lupa) approached the Secretary and the traditional authority in order to explain the benefits of a community-based lodge and the importance of demarcating the land. The Tourism Committee was established to manage and make decisions over the benefits that communities can gain from tourism. The NGO Helvetas/Lupa was responsible for the development of the Tinti Gala lodge in Gala. They offered financial support and help with the design of the lodge.

6.5 Resource Use in the Coastal Areas in Gala

6.5.1 Introduction

The local community practices a number of activities due to the abundant natural resources that are present in the area. In this community, 53% of the locals practice more than one livelihood option. Figure 6.6 depicts a map drawn by the community of Gala showing the different activities practiced in the area. There are three main lagoons in Gala. The Piti and Mpfutene lagoons are the two areas where most fishing occurs. There is a river that links the two lagoons and crosses the fence that divides the area where the Reserve ends. On the

reserve side, there are forests and non-timber forest resources that are used by the local community.

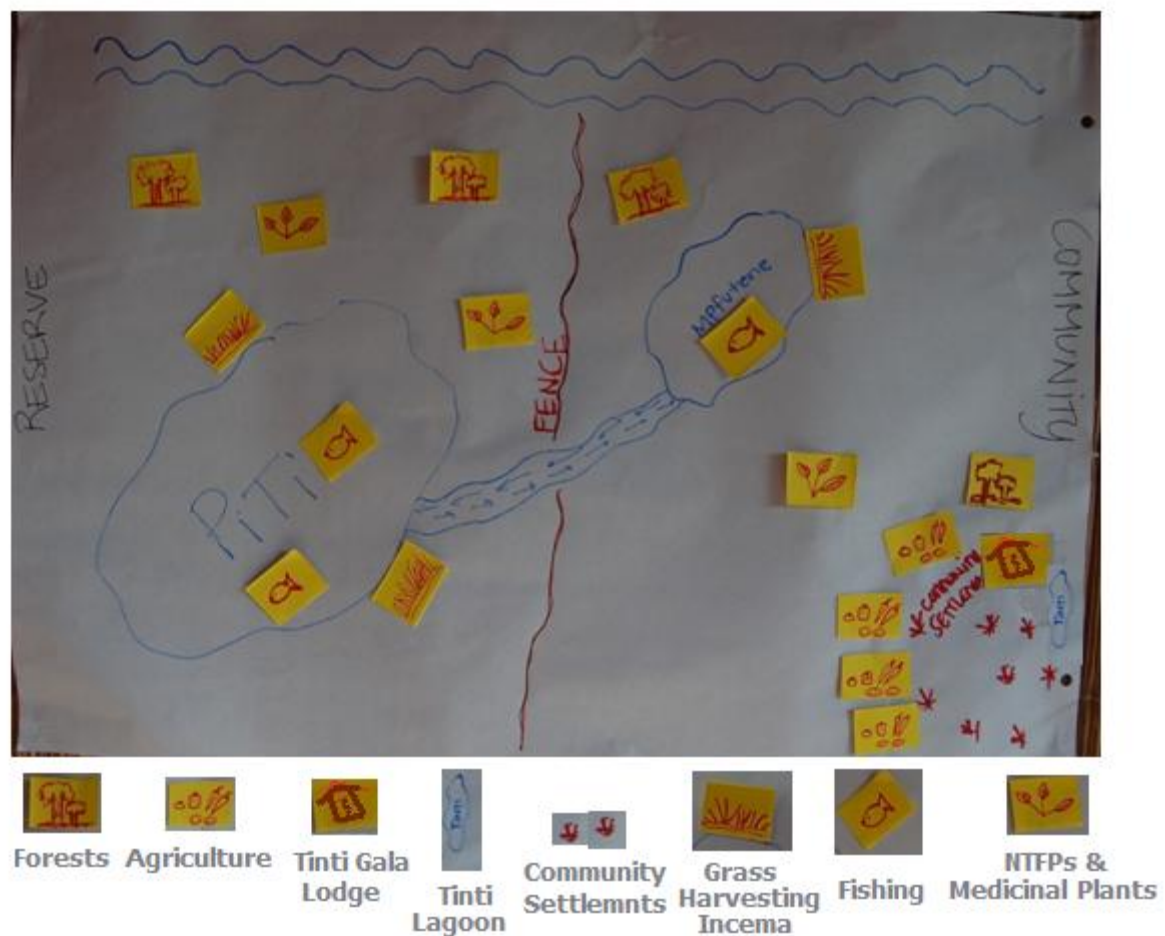


Figure 6.6 Mapping of the Gala community

In the area adjacent to the Reserve, agriculture is practiced by the local community and there are also areas where non-timber forest products can be extracted. Tinti Gala lodge is situated in an area that is adjacent to third lagoon in Gala, the Tinti lagoon.

6.5.2 Fish

In this community, 56% of respondents are fishers and sell fisheries resources. Nevertheless, only 23% ranked sale of marine resources as the most important activity forming the basis of their monthly income. The marine resources that people harvest at Gala are fish and prawns. Of all these resources, fish (95%) is the most popularly harvested resource as it is found in

the coastal lagoons where the majority of the people fish. Eighty eight percent of the marine resource harvesters have permits.

Fifty three per cent of Gala fishers have harvested fish for periods of less than 10 years and 21% have harvested fish for between 11 to 30 years. A large proportion of the Gala community was moved from the initial area they were settled in which was inside the reserve so fishing was not one of their main activities (GFFG 1). Once they moved to the buffer zone of the reserve, men started to fish in the lagoon. Thus, fishing became an additional activity of significant importance for the livelihoods of the Gala community.

The community fishes in the lagoon and there is a closed season from October to March. Fisheries resources in Gala, including fish and prawns, are harvested primarily for household consumption (72 %). In addition to consumption, 28% of fishers sell their catch (see Table 6.4). Results from the household survey indicated that people in Gala perceive a decrease in the number of fish and fish size. One respondent believed that this is mainly due to the fact that fishers do not follow the rules which lead to the perception that fish do not grow in numbers as much as they did previously (GFKI 1).

There is also a perception that declining fisheries resources are due to increased number of fishers, climatic changes as well as lack of law enforcement as illegal fishing happens during closed seasons (GFKI 1).

Table 6.4 Perceptions of fishers in terms of resource use

Perception of fishers/ Area	Gala
Period of fisheries resource use	< 10 years - 61 % 11 - 40 years - 27 % > 41 years - 12 %
Stock change of fisheries resource	Less - 55 % Stayed – 16 % More - 29 %
Uses of fisheries resources	For eating purposes - 72 % For eating and selling – 28 %
Fisheries resource use vs. Time	During specific seasons – 100 %

6.5.3 Agriculture and non-timber forest products

In terms of agriculture, people harvest vegetables (60%) and fruits (17%). Gala often has drought and the soil is extremely poor in nutrients but the community still cultivates products such as sugar cane, sweet potatoes, bananas, peanuts, maize, cassava, watermelons, squash, tobacco, tomatoes, lettuce, chillies, cabbage, garlic, carrots and onions. Some products are harvested during the dry season and others during the rainy season. Agricultural products are mostly used for both food and sale (67%) while some of the community rely on these products solely for consumption (33%).

Non-timber forest products are also very important. Some are used as medicinal plants and others for food. Some of the medicinal plants used are *Mgobandlovu* 'bend the elephant' and *Umbondo* for healing stomach ache. *Incema* is a reed used to make sleeping mats and this is one of the most important income generating activities in the area. Also, palm wine (*sura*) is extracted from palm trees in the area for approximately four months and left to ferment. This activity is important for generating local income. Masala (*Strychnos spinosa*) and *Macuacua* (*Strychnos madagascariensis*) are two of the most widely harvested fruits in Gala in addition to *Tihaca*, the fruit of the cacana plant (*Momordica balsamina*) (Shaffer, 2008). A local project has also enabled the local community to produce honey. Economic benefits were generated from this project mainly because the honey is collected in Gala and then sold in Maputo (GANFG 1).

Agriculture and non-timber forest products are important for household consumption but are declining in the community, apparently due to boars or warthogs that eat them or destroy the land cultivated by the local people. People also believe that climatic effects are leading to the decline of these resources.

6.6 Tourism Sector in Gala

Tourism has been an important asset to the Gala community over the past seven years as there was no tourism prior to the Benefit sharing arrangements initiated by Helvetas/Lupa and subsequent the Government and consequently no benefits from the tourism sector. The tourism sector in Gala can be divided into two particular tourism models that include the partnership between an NGO and the local community and the second one being a

government-community model. In this community, the development of tourism is recent. The NGO-community partnership involves two benefit-sharing strategies that include the development of a community-based lodge and the development of livelihoods programs to enhance benefits to the local community. The Government-community model involves only one benefit-sharing strategy that is a community levy created by a redistributive law. Key outcomes of benefit sharing strategies are explored. The two tourism models are explored below.

6.6.1 NGO - Community Model

A Swiss NGO Helvetas established a community-based tourism lodge in Gala in 2004. Helvetas was established in the Matutuine area and since 1997, has been involved in a project providing training to communities in the management of natural resources (Jeremias and Pijnenburg, 1999). Through this project, Helvetas trained people about land rights and the concept of tourism for the community. The partnership between the NGO Helvetas and the local community was established when the NGO first approached the local community, through the traditional authority (Haanland, 2008). During this process, Helvetas staff involved in this Benefit sharing project started a Mozambican NGO called Lupa that took over the project in Gala. For this reason, the NGO is referred to as Helvetas/Lupa.

6.6.1.1 Benefit-Sharing Strategy: Community-Based Lodge

In Gala, the benefit-sharing strategy implemented in order to enhance benefits to local communities was development of a tourism establishment, Tinti Gala lodge, a small community-owned lodge started in 2004 with the help of the Helvetas. This lodge, adjacent to Lake Tinti, has family houses which have one double bed and two foldout couch-beds with en-suite bathrooms, traditional houses with two single beds and en-suite bathrooms and a campsite with shared bathrooms. Large tents with a double bed are available. The lodge has a restaurant that can serve food and drinks on request. There is a power generator for electricity and hot water. Transfers are available from Catembe, Salamanga and Ponta do Ouro. Inside the lodge, there is also a small shop where local handicrafts and local products such as honey are sold.

The main attractions of the area are hippopotamus and elephant sightseeing and tracking, traditional dances, storytelling, medicinal plant walks, bird watching, fishing in Tinti Lagoon, cultural tours, sacred forest tours and beach visits. Since Helvetas handed over the Maputo projects to the Mozambican association LUPA, the local community perceive that the numbers of tourists have been decreasing.

The building of the lodge with aid from USAID via Helvetas, started in 2004. Through its help, the local community began the process of registering their land. In 2007, Helvetas organized a Steering Committee with ten members, called the Social Committee (referred to as the Tourism Committee by the local community) which is part of the Community Association of the Tinti Gala lodge. This social committee works as the executive board of the lodge and is in charge of the management of land as well as the responsible use and conservation of natural resources which are used by the local community (GNGOKI 1). Additional tasks of the committee have been to control the financial side of lodge, manage partnerships between different stakeholders, market the projects and tourism packages, maintain the links with the local community and ensure that any surplus money is used within the community (GNGOKI 1). The social committee has consisted of ten elected representatives from the local community (GTFG 1). The Community Association of the Tinti Gala Lodge consists of a general assembly, the social committee and an audit committee. The general assembly is composed of all members of the Gala community and their main responsibilities are to elect the members of the social committee, approve partnerships with public or private stakeholders, authorize the signing of alliances and expansion projects in relation to the tourism sector and decide on the dissolution and/or future of the Community Association of the Tinti Gala lodge (GNGOKI 1). The audit committee is in charge of inspecting the financial and administrative activities of the Tinti Gala lodge and facilitating the activities of the lodge manager (GNGOKI 1).

Prior to the opening of the lodge, a memorandum of agreement between the Helvetas/Lupa and the local community was signed and it was agreed that, subsequent to the expiration date of the agreement, the management of the lodge would be handed over to the local community. The initiative of developing a lodge in the area created numerous opportunities. The lodge employed between 10 to 15 people at a time, the majority coming from the surrounding community. Housekeepers, watchmen, managers, cooks, bar staff, chefs and

carpenters were some of the positions that were undertaken by local people in the lodge. In order to provide the community with sufficient tools for the development of tourism, Helvetas initiated training programmes to strengthen the capacity of human resources. The training programmes were mainly in the areas of cooking, medicinal plants, tour guiding and tracking, as well as teaching local communities to speak English (GTFG 1). These programmes ensured that tourists would enjoy natural and cultural experiences while at the same time providing monetary benefits to the local community. One person of the local community was trained as a manager and initiatives were developed to ensure that the financial and administrative activities were implemented successfully. The goods and services required by the lodge were sourced within the area and only luxury items were sourced in South Africa or Maputo. Locally, it is possible to find reeds and grasses for the rebuilding of the lodge and food supplies like vegetables and fruits. Some shopping was also done in Phuza, a market between South Africa and Mozambique.

6.6.1.1.1 Key outcomes of Community-Based Lodge Strategy

The community-based lodge, Tinti Gala, has created direct and indirect benefits in the local community through tourism. The most important direct impact has been the generation of employment and income to the local community. The local community perceived these two benefits as equally significant to them. In terms of income generation, tourists come to the lodge and mainly pay in Rand for agricultural products, fish and seafood, tourism activities and local goods and handicrafts. Tourists are mainly from South Africa and due to the close proximity to the South African border, the Rand is used as local currency. The value of the Rand is stronger than the value of the Metical and local communities prefer the foreign currency. In the lodge, the local community occupied high-end and low-end jobs, ranging from managers to chefs and cleaners. The results show that 44% of the local community was involved with the lodge, through employment and/or through the participation in the lodge activities when it was necessary. 37% of the local community indicated that they have direct benefits from the lodge.

Social benefits have emerged from the building of the clinic and renovation of the school that was possible through the support of Helvetas/Lupa. One of the local community representatives indicated that:

“Helvetas helped us on the building of the clinic as the majority of the health centres are very far from here ... Though the money that was generated from the visitors coming to the lodge, it was possible to renovate the school infrastructure and buy new chairs for the students” (GARKI 1)

Empowerment of the local community is another important benefit. In particular, the lodge has raised the economic status of the community. Tourism has also enhanced pride in the culture and traditions of the community. People in Gala became more empowered in terms of the knowledge that have gained in terms of the Land Law and the rights that they have over the resources that was transmitted by Helvetas/Lupa (GTFG 1).

Lastly, Helvetas/Lupa has established training programmes that will provide the Gala community with the skills, capacities and knowledge that is required for them to perform certain roles in the development of tourism in the area. These were training programmes in culinary skills, cleaning and learning English as a foreign language.

Tourism is thus regarded as a beneficial sector for the local community and has had a positive impact on the livelihoods of the people involved. Concerns identified related to the current lack of tourists and the deterioration of the lodge. These factors are described in the next chapter. The community is also concerned about the changes in the climatic conditions affecting the tourism sector. It is perceived that if there is a lack of rain, the lagoon, where the majority of the tourist attractions are based, will dry up and tourists will not choose Gala as a destination for holidays (GTFG 1). One example is the case of the hippopotamus that were previously living in the Tinti Pan, but presently they left because of the drought. Overall, there were no environmental, economic or social losses perceived by the community from tourism (GTFG 1).

6.6.1.2 Benefit-Sharing Strategy: Livelihood projects

Through the development of the lodge by Helvetas, people in the community were provided with other sources of income like pineapple and chicken farming. At a later stage, bee boxes were also given to the local community to enable honey to be produced locally.

Tinti Gala lodge also created opportunities for the informal sector. In the reception area there is a small shop where artists can sell their handicrafts. Vendors are welcome to sell their goods to the tourists that come to the area. Helvetas was a key role player in terms of sponsoring the lodge and starting initiatives to enhance benefits to the local community (i.e. bee boxes, chicken farms, pineapple farms). They also played a central role in marketing and connecting tourists with development projects in the area. For instance, tourists are encouraged by signs and boards that Helvetas has put up in the community to take part in activities such as medicinal plant tours or to eat local food produced by the local cooks.

6.6.1.2.1 Key outcomes of Livelihood Projects Strategy

The livelihood projects established by the partnership between Helvetas/Lupa and the local community have generated significant benefits to the local community. The projects identified by the local community were the planting of pineapples and the honey production in Gala. Pineapples are sold in Phuza, a market on the border with South Africa and the honey is presently being sold to the supermarkets in Maputo. Helvetas has chosen different families for the different projects regardless of their proximity to the lodge. The opportunities for the community to be involved and benefit from these projects were given to different families at different stages of the project. One of the authority representatives of Gala explained:

“The Gala community is very small. For this reason, families were randomly selected for the different projects that Helvetas/Lupa brought to us. Everyone got either pineapples or bee boxes for the production of honey. (...) We sell these products in Phuza and get money out of it” (GARKI 1)

In Gala, 72% of the households interviewed were familiar with the pineapple project and 75% were aware of the honey boxes given to the community. In terms of benefits, 52% of households are involved in the pineapple project and 58% are involved in the honey production project. In the community, there is an indication that there are significant benefits from the involvement of these projects in terms of employment or as an income-generating activity. According to Figure 6.8, the Gala community is completely satisfied with the

establishment of these projects. The results emanating from the focus group with the people involved with agriculture and non-timber forest products suggest that the local community feels empowered because of this supplementary source of income (GANFG 1). Additionally, at different stages of the project Helvetas has provided training in producing honey and techniques for the planting of pineapples (GARKI 1). These results indicate that the local community does not only benefit from skills development but also from feeling empowered in terms of knowledge and psychologically as shown in the degree of satisfaction felt with these projects (See Figure 6.8).

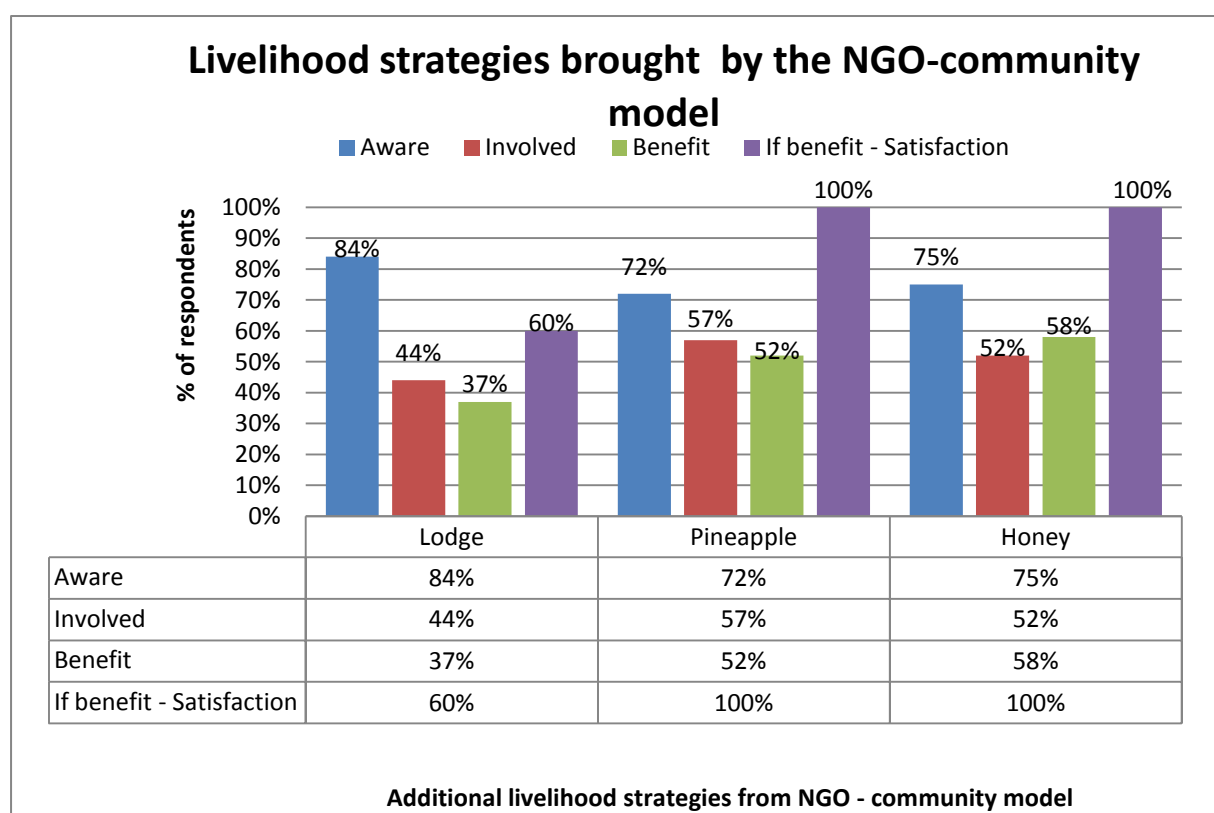


Figure 6.7 Livelihood strategies brought by the NGO-community model

6.6.2 Government-Community model

6.6.2.1 Benefit-Sharing Strategy: Community Levy from tourism taxes

Through the Forestry and Wildlife Law (19/1999), 20% of the revenue from wildlife and forest resources is given to local communities. These funds are required to be used for local

development. This revenue is generated from the lease of land, gate fees or from tourism profits emanating from the adjacent Maputo Elephant Reserve. Since 2008, all the families in Gala have received funds from this community levy, which is divided between the families in four communities living on the buffer zone of the Reserve (GTFG 1). Communities benefit from tourism only through the community levy and there are no other linkages with the Maputo Elephant Reserve.

Johnstone (2011:4) states that the “tourism regulation requires that at the beginning of the process of identifying the natural resources where tourism is to take place, a management committee (*comite de gestao*) should be promoted and registered with the district administration or local administrative post”. In order for the local community to receive the community levy, a local committee was elected by the community and a bank account is opened. By law, each one of the four communities had to follow this procedure. The government then divide the money between the four communities equally and deposits this money into the relevant bank accounts (GTFG 1). The committee should then engage with the different stakeholders present namely applicants, tourism operators, NGOs, associations and interested parties to undertake a programme of consultation with the community (Diploma 93/2005, Art. 1-2). In Gala, a consultative meeting with each community committee is held in order to determine how the money will be used, such as buying goats, investing in infrastructure, among others.

The Maputo Elephant Reserve benefits the local communities which live adjacent to the area through community levies from revenues generated from tourism. Tourists who come to Gala are curious about the projects and initiatives that have been developed in the area. The only way to reach Gala however is to drive through the Maputo Elephant Reserve (GCAKI 1). Few people from the Gala community have been recruited to work in the Reserve as rangers to protect the area and help with the collection of fees (GCAKI 1).

6.6.2.1.1 Key outcomes emanating from Community Levy Strategy

In Gala, revenue that is channelled via the income generated through tourism in Reserves is a significant benefit to local communities. In the Maputo Elephant Reserve, local communities are benefiting monetarily on a yearly basis from this revenue. The Gala community agreed to divide the money equally between each household and in 2008 received \$38 per family and

in the following year, \$25 per family. Some families bought goats with the money, mainly because it is a commodity that can in the future be used for food or for selling in adjacent communities. This decision was facilitated by the government. However every family has the right to decide whether they want to invest the money or not. The revenues from the tourism community levy are perceived as a significant economic benefit (GTFG 1). It has also led to alternative livelihoods. One participant in the agriculture and non-timber forest product focus group stated:

“It improved people’s lives because another livelihood strategy was introduced namely goat farming “ (GANFG 1).

The local community felt economically empowered in the sense that they had the liberty to decide the destiny of the money generated through the levy. In an area such as Gala, where little money is used on a daily basis, the local community perceives this monetary benefit as of great significance.

6.7 Impact of tourism on fisheries and coastal ecosystems

Unlike Tofo and Barra, the tourism and fisheries sectors in Gala are not dependent on one another, and there is little conflict. Fishers primarily harvest in the adjacent lagoon called Piti. They use the lagoon because the sea is approximately twenty kilometers away and it is very rough, making these coastal lagoons the perfect areas for fishing. The main attractions in the tourism sector are centred on the Tinti lagoon where the hippopotamus can be found. The two sectors thus do not compete for space or marine use because they are utilizing two different areas.

One of the oldest fishers of the community remarked:

“Here in Gala? There aren’t any conflicts between the two sectors. Tourism came to help the community. Now we don’t have lots of tourists but it hasn’t impacted the fishing in the area. In terms of conflicts, if there is one, the CCP will inform the traditional authority and the Secretário. We will meet with them and then issues will be resolved.” (GFKI 1)

The tourism activities have little or no impact on the coastal ecosystems in the area. The main setback with tourism in the area is the fact that in the previous years there were a lot of tourists and there was a market for the fish. Now that the tourists are not coming to the

community, fishers have fewer markets and sell only to the community or in Phuza, the market on the border between Mozambique and South Africa.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the impact and influence of the tourism sector has had on the Gala community. The Gala community has limited employment as fishing, subsistence agriculture and forestry products that contributed to the main activities practiced in this community for both food consumption and sale. The inception of tourism in the community, through the partnership between Helvetas and the community in order to develop a community-based lodge has brought significant economic and social benefits. The project was initiated by the Helvetas, but which has now been handed over to a Mozambican Association called Lupa.

Although tourism has declined in recent years, there were no perceived losses in the community. While tourism provided important benefits when the market was good, more recent events have led to a decrease in tourists and the subsequent deterioration of the lodge. Some of these challenges need to be addressed in order to enhance benefits again. In the meantime, however, other benefits related to alternative livelihoods remain active and are positively perceived by the community. The benefits include employment, infrastructure development, enhancement of pride and satisfaction, skills training and education as well as the creation of livelihood projects to enhance the benefits to the local community, particularly the people that was not directly involved with the lodge.

Chapter 7 Discussion of findings

7.1 Introduction

This study aimed to investigate how local communities benefit from tourism, the losses they incur, and the strategies that enhance the sharing of benefitsecological. The research was guided by five research objectives:

- (1) To identify the social, economic and ecological benefits and losses of tourism to local communities in three case study sites along the Mozambique coast;
- (2) To identify the various stakeholders benefiting or losing from tourism activities;
- (3) To identify and analyse Benefit sharing arrangements and strategies that are used to distribute the benefits from tourism;
- (4) To understand the linkages between the tourism and fisheries sectors as well as the benefits and losses associated with these linkages; and
- (5) To determine the factors that enhance or hinder sharing of benefits from tourism to local communities.

There are different models of tourism initiated in Gala and Barra that intend to enhance benefits to local communities. These tourism models enhance benefits through particular benefit-sharing strategies. Benefit-sharing strategies are initiated by different actors, including government, private sector and NGOs, and lead to different institutional arrangements. The outcomes of these benefit-sharing strategies include monetary and non-monetary benefits to the local community. The conventional mass tourism model, which does not necessarily consider local people's needs and interests, was explored in Tofo, and this case study was chosen to highlight the impact of tourism in the absence of any benefit-sharing strategies. Three key themes have emerged from this research that are fundamental for enhancing the benefits to local communities. These include:

- The understanding of the role of institutions in tourism development
- The recognition that tourism impacts must consider both the monetary and non-monetary benefits and losses to coastal communities;
- The acknowledgement of the need to understand and respond to the impacts of interventions in one sector on other sectors (such as between fisheries and tourism).

These key themes are going to be explored in the following sections.

7.2 Involvement of NGOs, the private sector and government in the tourism sector

In this study, tourism models, particularly in Gala and Barra, intended to benefit the local communities through a number of benefit-sharing strategies that including benefit-sharing, a redistributive law and corporate social responsibility. These different benefit-sharing strategies were initiated by institutions such as NGOs, the State and the private sector (See Figure 7.2).

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Figure 7.1 Tourism models between local community and government, NGO and the private sector and respective strategies and outcomes in the case study sites.

The establishment of local institutional arrangements that incorporate participation and accountability principles is key for enhancing the distribution of benefits to local communities. It is clear that a move towards a more sustainable tourism industry has shaped

the different benefit sharing strategies present that include benefit-sharing and redistributive law strategies in Gala and corporate social responsibility in Barra. This study has revealed that different institutions that have driven different benefit sharing strategies generate different outcomes. This framework will help understand the role of different institutions and their responsibility in terms of tourism development.

7.2.1 Tourism model: involvement of NGO – Helvetas/Lupa

A NGO is a “self-governing, private, not-for-profit organizations that are geared to improving the quality of life for disadvantaged people” (Vakil, 1997:2060). NGOs aim to sustain the involvement of local communities in advocating for policy change and to support the development of local economies, ecological programmes and initiatives and social change in favour of marginalized populations (Fennell and Downing, 2003).

Although NGO-managed developments are sometimes portrayed as a successful model to enhance benefits to local and marginalized communities, a key challenge is related to multiple accountability (Brett, 1993). The economic responsibility of Helvetas/Lupa towards the Gala community includes financial assistance during the various stages of the development of Tinti Gala Lodge. Additionally, Helvetas/Lupa has been involved in the strengthening and promotion of stewardship projects and the enhancement of the well-being of the communities in order to ensure that goods and services were provided to the members of the Gala community as well as to supply the Tinti Gala Lodge.

The second pillar is the legal responsibility. Helvetas/Lupa has complied with the laws and regulations established by the government in order to ensure that the land of the local community was registered under their name. Also, they have supported the local community in the registration of the Tinti Gala lodge and the establishment of a tourism committee. The third pillar is ethical responsibilities and Helvetas/Lupa has made efforts to ensure that benefits are provided to the local community in a fair way. People from the community have benefitted from the community projects in rounds; therefore every family has a chance of benefiting from one project or the other. Activities initiated by Lupa have been highly inclusive in terms of ensuring that local communities participate in meetings and decision-making. In Gala, Lupa is currently playing the role of advisor in order to find potential

private sector parties that are interested in sharing the management of the lodge with the local community whilst ensuring that the needs of the people in the area are being met. Also, Lupa have an active role as advisor in the community, ensuring that land tenure is secured and interests of the local community are protected in the case of a future investment in the area.

The last pillar is philanthropic responsibilities. Helvetas receive funds from external donors such as USAID in order to implement projects, in this case, particularly to benefit targeted communities. Lupa, maintains presently a close link with the Gala community, despite the challenges that emerged from the splitting from Helvetas. Although Helvetas/Lupa have provided a number of benefits such as support and empowerment of local communities through the creation of employment, skills training, basic service provision (See Figure 7.2), this NGO is currently under the process of becoming self-sufficient from Helvetas yet remains dependent on the continuing financial support of donors.

One of the main strengths of this model was the motivation for the development of the lodge that included was capacity building, enhancing livelihoods of poor communities coupled with a strong sense of responsibility towards the local community. The strategies implemented in the ground in Gala, such as the community-based lodge and the livelihood projects have resulted from a collaboration of local communities. Fowler (1991) has argued that through this process, local communities often become empowered. The local community in Gala perceived themselves as empowered with the implementation of the benefit-sharing strategies since limited opportunities were present in the community prior to the establishment of tourists. On the other side, a number of weaknesses were identified in this model. This model, NGO-community, could have been successful if a number of fatal flaws had been addressed and these include the lack of a business or marketing plan coupled with the lack of tourists for that particular kind of tourism has led to its demise and therefore the shutting down of Tinti Gala lodge. Tourism is a business and therefore “if the business plan is flawed, and the enterprise unprofitable, the continuation of the enterprise will likely frustrate those whose expectations were raised unrealistically” (Spenceley, 2008:300). Additionally, it was identified that the local community in Gala have become dependent and Helvetas/Lupa were perceived as an NGO that was perpetuating subsistence activities and dependency and that operated as money lenders. Lekorwe and Mpabanga (2007) have argued that this can be one of the reasons why NGOs fail to promote the benefits to local communities.

7.2.2 Tourism Model: Involvement of the Government of Mozambique

The State has to fulfil political and social obligations in order to generate benefits and opportunities for local communities (Spenceley, 2003). One of the main roles of the government is to set legislative and regulatory frameworks for tourism (UNESCAP, 2003). The Government of Mozambique has identified tourism as one of the ways to promote local economic development. One of the benefit-sharing strategies that were set up was through a law where local communities that live adjacent to protected areas are entitled to receive 20% of tourism revenues (Johnstone, 2011). This is the case of the Gala community. The Maputo Elephant Reserve is obliged to make state revenue transfers to the Gala community. Figure 7.1 illustrates that income and empowerment were two of the main benefits generated from this model.

According to Spenceley (2003), the government has to fulfil political and social obligations in order to generate benefits and opportunities for local communities. In Gala, the legal responsibility of the government is to comply with the laws and regulations that are the ground rules. The government is in charge of promoting social responsibility between the different stakeholders involved in the process and reimbursing 20% of taxes accruing from concessions to the local communities in the area where concessions have been given as stipulated in Forestry and Wildlife law as well as subsequent tourism regulations (Salomão and Matose, 2006, Johnstone, 2011).

According to UNESCAP (2003), government policies on taxes or levies need to be evaluated and designed in a way that is comprehensive and integrated in order that the necessary revenues are balanced against the effect on the tourism markets and the returns of tourism enterprises. In Gala, the establishment of the Tinti Gala lodge in the buffer zone of the Maputo Elephant Reserve has ensured that local communities benefit from the community tax explained on the above paragraph. Although the tourism enterprise, Tinti Gala lodge, is not functioning optimally, a number of monetary and non-monetary benefits were identified. The combined effect of these outcomes generated from the lodge with the outcomes generated from the community levy has provided the community with enhanced benefits that were not present when tourism was not established in Gala.

The ethical responsibilities of the government has to ensure a fair, just and protection of the rights of local communities. In this context, the government has designed a mechanism where bank accounts are set, committees are established through elections in the local community and the monetary benefits are divided equally by the number of families in the community.

This government intervention has been considered successful by the Gala community, particularly due to small number of communities with low population density in the buffer zone of the Maputo Elephant Reserve and considerable number of tourists that pay taxes in this reserve. Findings particularly from the focus group suggest that this is one of the key tourism models that provide significant benefits to the Gala community as well as a general sense of satisfaction with the benefits that have emerged from this benefit sharing strategy. Nevertheless, the Government of Mozambique has proved to be slow in the setting up of mechanisms that ensure that benefits are accrued to local communities. Also, this benefit-sharing strategy has proved to be unsuccessful in areas where the local communities have high population densities, since the amount received per capita is insignificant. Although a weakness of this model, in the literature, has been in terms of “who pays the tax” since this can be a financial hardship for people in the middle and lower classes (Weston, 1983). In Gala, the local community have found ways not to pay the tax every time they need to access the reserve. Although this can be perceived as beneficial for the local communities, this situation is directly linked to another weakness of the model that includes the fact that people are able to evade paying any income taxes.

In a broader context, the Government of Mozambique has defined policies, laws and institutions that govern the tourism sector in Mozambique. At the institutional level, the Ministry of Tourism has decentralised some of its functions to the provinces. Decentralization is the process of transferring “power from central government to actors and institutions at lower levels in political-administrative and territorial hierarchy” (Larson and Ribot, 2004:3), particularly through a local representative structure that is accountable. In Mozambique, the capacity of institutions is limited at the provincial level, which is undermining the effectiveness of decentralisation (Jones and Ibrahim, 2008 cited by Johnstone, 2011). In this context, monitoring and inspection of tourism operations at the local and provincial level are compromised.

In Mozambique, the National Tourism Strategy has defined the balance between economic growth with social and ecological benefits as a key priority that aims to improve benefits from the current tourism model. This form of tourism is faced with imbalances such as financial leakages, the establishment of tourism enclaves, economic dependency, seasonal low-skilled employment and vulnerability to the impacts made on the destination from other sectors (UNEP, 2007 cited by Johnstone, 2011:7). Other tourism forms such as community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism are currently being explored by the Government of Mozambique in order to address some of these imbalances (Fair Trade in Tourism, 2009 cited by Johnstone, 2011).

7.2.3 Tourism model: Involvement of the Private Sector

The private sector is defined as organizations and individuals that work outside the direct control of the state and consists of companies and businesses that are for-profit and non-profit private organizations (Bennett, 1991). For the purpose of this study, the private sector is analyzed only at the local level. In the tourism context, the private sector is extremely important for local communities in terms of providing investment at the local level as well as ensuring quality tourism management (UNESCAP, 2003). In Tofo and in Barra, however, there are tourism establishments that fail to acknowledge the importance of tourism and its impacts on the livelihoods of local communities.

In terms of the economic responsibility of the private sector, the principal idea of a tourism establishment is to create a product that consumers need and want while maximizing their profit. Barra Resorts Group has developed tourism establishments with a range of activities that include scuba diving, ocean safaris, snorkelling, deep-sea fishing, underwater photography of whale sharks, manta rays, coral reefs, mangrove walks, horse riding on the beach, catamaran trips, kayaking, village walks and cultural tours. Some of these activities were developed alongside with the local community and donations from tourists are often facilitated by the Barra Resorts Group. In this context, Barra Resorts Group is able to maximize their profit while ensuring that direct and indirect benefits reach the local communities (See Figure 7.2).

The second pillar is the legal responsibility. Barra Resorts Group has a set of guiding principles and business practices that ensures that their practices comply with the

Mozambican law. This included the process of obtaining land for the building of the lodges and the payment of the required taxes for tourism development.

In terms of ethical responsibilities, Barra Resorts Group has a business strategy that strives to protect the rights of different stakeholders, nevertheless the lack of principles and criteria as well as ethical and social frameworks in Mozambique has created an environment where the tourism industry has a weak position in terms of ethical business conduct.

The last pillar is philanthropic responsibilities. The driving force for the generation of benefits to the local community in the Barra case study is mainly the willingness and the ethical tendency of Barra Resorts Group to enhance benefits and alleviate poverty at the local level. However, although motivated by the best of intentions, the benefits that were generated by Barra Resorts Group to the Barra community have been achieved through a top-down approach and more attention could be given to the needs of the local community, particularly through the creation of a community trust or community group that democratically and fairly represent the views of the local community. This is mainly because the right to the resource and the power to distribute tourism benefits rests with Barra Resorts Group. For example, there are no formal committees from the local community that are in charge of tourism development at the local level, although informal meetings are held between the members of the community and the management of Barra Resorts Group. These members of the local community have approached the Barra Resorts Group in order to help address the problems that the community perceives as significant in their lives. Barra Resorts Group has resolved a number of concerns of the local community such as the lack of potable water, ongoing maintenance of the roads, and ongoing maintenance of the bridge that ensures that families from Conguiana are able to reach the clinic and the schools without having to walk long distances. Spenceley (2003) has examined the role of private sector and the linkages with the tourism sector and has described a similar situation at the Jackalberry Lodge, within the Thornybush Game Reserve in South Africa, where there is a private operator that has a tourism resort on privately owned land and which uses tourism as a tool to enhance benefits to the local communities and address poverty reduction. According to Spenceley (2003), this lodge and the Thornybush Game Reserve have created substantial benefits to the Timbavati community, particularly through donations to community projects that have been identified by the private sector.

Barra Resorts Group is one of the few private sector-driven initiatives that ensure that benefits are accrued to the local community. In Tofo, the large majority of private sector investments have little or no economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibility, therefore there is no maximization of impacts on local communities and little regard in terms of minimisation of negative impacts associated with tourism development activities. Although a number of investors are required to obey laws and regulations established by the government, the lack of financial and technical resources combined with the lack enforcement of the law from the government, creates gaps for the non-compliance of such responsibilities.

Although the motivation of establishment of these strategies to enhance benefits was based on a number of factors described above coupled with profit maximization, the factors that have ensured that local communities are benefiting from this private-sector-community model are a strong business model with good marketing strategies, inclusive package deals that attracts tourists and strong market linkages particularly with the local community. The latter was explained in the previous chapters, particularly in terms of the creation of a market for fisheries. This model has identified a number of weaknesses. The benefit-sharing strategies implemented by the private sector are capable of compromising a government's motivation to fulfil its responsibilities to citizens and local communities as it becomes dependent on private companies and businesses (Crook, 2005). In Barra, the private sector and in particular Barra Resorts Group, has taken over a number of responsibilities that should be fulfilled by the Government. Nevertheless, the lack of capacity from government and lack of a decentralized system are two factors that limit the governments' responsibilities towards local communities across the country. Some critics argue that companies and businesses are not qualified to make decisions about the local community and the environment, and for this reason decisions should be left to those who are qualified or more capable (Crook, 2005), for this reason Barra Resorts Group have particularly asked for the assistance of SNV towards implementation of their business model. Although benefits are likely to be generated to local communities, it is unclear whether these are sustainable beyond the life of the company's operations.

7.2.4 Comparing NGOs, government and private sector models of tourism development

Institutions can be categorized in three different groups depending on their purpose: for-profit institutions such as the ones that represent the private sector, the government that defines the rules and structure of society and non-profit organizations that aim to “achieve social good when the political will or the profit motive is insufficient to address society needs” (Werther and Chandler, 2006:3)

The NGO-driven model has a more systematic way of delivering benefits to the local community as their role is mainly focused on development and implementation. NGOs play an important role in the tourism context because they move the emphasis of tourism from an economic perspective and place emphasis on the social, cultural and ecological values, unlike the private sector that focuses primarily on the return of investments (Wearing et al., 2005). The government is bound by law to ensure that local communities benefit from the revenues of tourism parks and reserves and there is some indication of success here. Nevertheless, due to the limitations of the State, NGOs have played an important role in filling and reducing the gaps between the rich and the poor of a society. Also, tourism models promoted by NGOs are often less bureaucratic than the ones promoted by the government.

The private sector has the potential to enhance and guarantee benefits to the local community, but needs to move from an ad hoc basis of providing benefits to a more systematic and formal approach through committees or community trusts. Although there is a broad understanding that NGO models are more altruistic than the ones promoted by the private sector this is different in the case of Barra Resorts Group. Here, the development of particular initiatives to enhance benefits to the local communities is not dependent on foreign aid or bound by the need to meet goals set by donors, unlike the NGO model. Also, through an informal process used by the private sector, bureaucracies and political interference are avoided so that the benefits can flow directly from the agents that deliver benefits to the beneficiaries who are intended to benefit as result. Nevertheless, private sector interventions include health care, education, roads and drinking water, which reflect the failure of the state to deliver these basic services. If the State gave priority to the establishment of basic services this would free up resources for external investment in other non-essential benefits. A critical factor of course

is the lack of power that the local community have over the private sector as well as their weak ability to hold the private sector in check.

7.3 Consideration of both the monetary and non-monetary benefits and losses to coastal communities.

7.3.1 Introduction

Benefits from tourism can be realized as monetary or non-monetary opportunities for the local communities (Crouch, 2004). In fact, the tourism industry has the power to stimulate important change at a local level in the economic, ecological and socio-cultural dimensions. Although tourism has been recognized as an industry that leads to positive outcomes, there is evidence that this industry has the potential for negative and harmful outcomes to local communities (Lankford and Howard, 1994). Figure 7.3 illustrates these benefits and losses particularly from the Tofo model, however there were inputs from the models present in Gala and Barra.

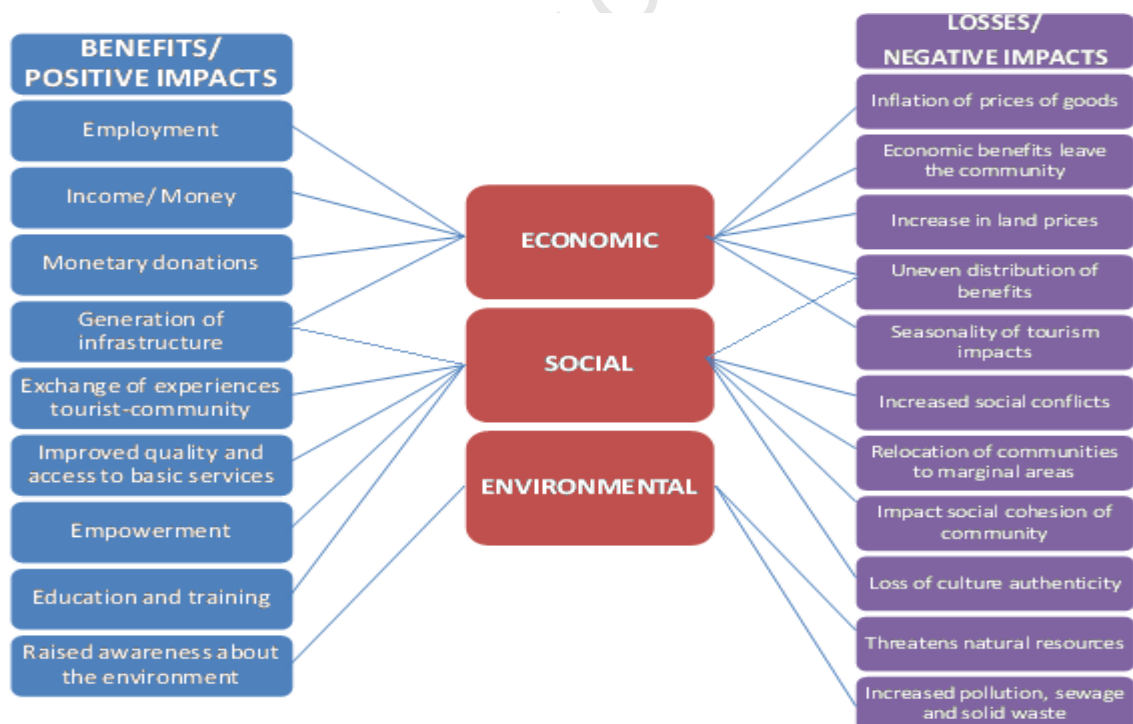


Figure 7.2 Monetary and non-monetary benefits and losses arising from tourism

7.3.2 Economic impacts

The economic impacts of tourism have typically been investigated using value chain analysis to examine the direct, indirect and dynamic tourism effects on poor communities (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). Value chains describe “the full range of activities required to bring a product or service from conception, through the different phases of production, delivery to final consumers and final disposal after use” (Kolinsky and Morris, 2001 cited by Mitchell and Coles, 2009: iii). Mitchell and Ashley (2010) provide a framework to understand how tourism can affect the poor through a description of three pathways through which benefits and associated losses of tourism initiatives can be mediated by the poor: (1) direct effects, (2) secondary effects (include indirect and induced effects) and (3) dynamic effects.

The most direct and visible benefit of tourism is the employment of local people in hotels, retail establishments and restaurants (Kotler et al., 1999). In Tofo, Barra and Gala, employment in the tourism sector is one of the main activities that have contributed to the household income of the local communities (See Figure 7.4).

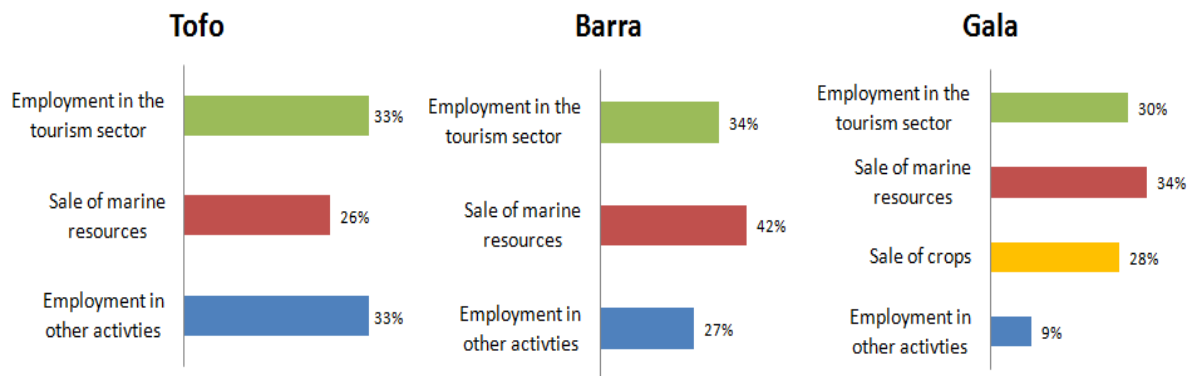


Figure 7.3 Economic activities in Tofo, Barra and Gala

Employment of poor communities in tourism enterprises is one of the mechanisms that ST-EP has indicated to reduce and eliminate poverty (Sofield et al., 2004). In Tofo, local employment is mainly in the form of low-level jobs (Mutimucuo, 2009). However, in Barra and Gala, employment was indicated as one of the most significant benefits to local communities. According to Roe et al., (2002), an individual that has a secure job has the opportunity to lift a whole household from poverty.

The development of tourism in Barra and Gala has also created more alternative sources of income than there were in the past. Income in both communities has been generated from the selling of agricultural, non-timber forest products and other goods to tourists and tourism establishments and from cultural services such as cultural tours, and walks in the forest, among others. The selling of handicrafts and curios in lodges has also led to income generation. Although incomes from these small and informal enterprises are small, the benefits generated are significant for local communities.

An important source of direct economic benefits from tourism is from collective income generated from donations (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). In Barra, there are philanthropic flows that include donations in funds or other forms from tourists or from Barra Resorts Group to the local community. Barra Resorts Group has established the conduit through which tourists make donations. These donations are targeted at infrastructure renovation, service provision or at those members of the community who are not economically active such as school children and orphans. The voluntary giving by tourism establishments and tourists such as in the Barra case study has the potential to generate significant benefits to the local community while also helping to reduce poverty. Another dimension of non-labour income that benefits the local community is through shares, taxes or levies from protected areas that are transferred or spent on poor communities adjacent to these areas (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). In Gala, the local communities receive monetary benefits from a community levy that is generated through tourism in the Maputo Elephant Reserve. The Gala community can decide where the money is going to be invested in the form of projects to benefit the community or an individual project. A similar situation occurs in Kenya where the government has instituted mechanisms that allocated approximately 19% of tourism revenues to local communities living adjacent to the local protected areas, nevertheless this revenue is re-invested in projects for the local community, instead of being distributed in the form of cash to members of the community (Weru, 2007 cited by Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). The success of this mechanism in Kenya is that there is a higher probability that the money will be spent in projects that will benefit the community as a whole and in Mozambique the money is often spent in activities that do not benefit the community as a whole or provide short- or long-term benefits to the individuals. In Gala, the money received from the tourism tax in 2008 was mostly spent in bohemian activities (GTFG 1).

Indirect economic impacts consist mainly of earnings that emerge from sectors aligned to the tourism industry. Although tourism-agricultural linkages have had special attention in the literature in terms of food supply, for the purpose of this study, the linkages between the tourism and the fisheries sector were evaluated. In Mauritius, the number of people that work indirectly in the tourism sector is twice the number of the people that work directly in the tourism sector (Christie and Crompton, 2001 cited in Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). In this study, goods particularly from the fisheries sector to the tourism sector have similarly created critical benefits to the local communities of Barra and Gala.

Induced impacts consist of earnings that emerge from tourism employees spending in the local economy (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). A large proportion of the employees of Barra Resorts Group and Tinti Gala lodge live in areas adjacent to these tourism establishments. Earnings from working in these tourism establishments are often re-spent in the local economy particularly on agricultural and fish products. An additional induced benefit, in Barra particularly, includes the wages paid to people involved in the construction industry that Barra Resorts Group hire for renovations of their lodges.

7.3.3 Non-economic impacts

Income and economic impacts are not the only reason why the livelihoods of local communities are directly affected by tourism. Through the Benefit sharing mechanisms evaluated in this study, social benefits were noted to be of great significance to the local communities. Improved quality and access to basic services has enhanced the quality of life of local communities within the three communities, with emphasis in Barra and Gala where the initiatives to enhance benefits are present. In particular, it was also noted by participants that through the three Benefit sharing mechanisms described, women feel empowered as there is recognition that they can attain the same jobs as men, particularly in patrilineal societies. Timothy (2002) argues that tourism based on the local community is more sustainable due to the fact that it allows for the involvement of groups that were marginalized in the past such as women. From the partnership between the NGO and the local community in Gala, people felt that there as an outside recognition of their culture, knowledge and coastal resources. In this context, tourism has helped foster a sense of community pride. Tourism is an interface for exchange of experiences between tourists and the local

community (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Particularly for the tourists, the greater the interaction with the community and environment, the more fulfilling the experience is likely to be.

Training and transference of skills is another important benefit to the local communities. Barra Resorts Group¹¹, through employment in the community has an in-house training to current employees who are non-skilled and have low education levels. In Gala, culinary, English language and tourism guide courses have aided the local community in expanding their livelihood strategies. Service provision is an important benefit to the local community that emerged in particular from the partnership between the private sector and the local community. Clean and potable water is still one of the major challenges to Mozambique (Mutimucuo, 2009). For this reason, the implementation of water points in Barra has enhanced the livelihoods of local communities.

The tourism sector has however also created social conflicts, particularly in Tofo and Barra. In the community, many locals and tourists engage in drinking every night at the local bars. This has incentivized underage drinking in the community. Other key social negative impact in Tofo and Barra include high crime rates, prostitution and bad behaviour. These are areas characterized by very relaxed atmosphere that is likely to increase illegal activities such as crime and drug use. The tourism sector has also posed threats to the cultural identity of the communities in Tofo where locals have adopted cultural aspects and language of the visitors. Youngsters in the local community are replacing their traditional values for the western values of visitors and this has created clashes with elders. Elders believe that tourism is degrading the culture and values of the community. Mathieson and Wall (1982) have suggested that changes in the values and behaviours are likely to happen as negative impacts arising from tourism.

Tourism is an industry that has become increasingly reliant on the resources of the natural environment to such an extent that its development cannot be without impacts (Holden, 2000). These impacts can be either positive or negative, although the magnitude of negative impacts is often greater than the magnitude of positive impacts (McLaren, 2003). Over consumption of natural resources can lead to depletion, a concern for the future generations

¹¹ People in the community don't have skills, therefore training and transference of skills that is done by Barra Lodge is regarded as benefit by the local community.

that will indisputably depend on the environment to meet their needs (Neto, 2003). In the Caribbean Sea, tourism activities have led to the contamination of marine waters and coastal areas from pollution that was generated by hotels and cruise ships (Neto, 2003). The fast growth of cruise tourism in Mozambique is likely to reproduce this problem in years to come. Additionally, the construction of tourism establishments are, in general, on top of sensitive ecosystems, such as primary dunes, adjacent to the mangroves and right in the seafront and local communities are particularly concerned with erosion and degradation of their resources. Concerns about the environment have led to the development of an NGO called ALMA that has been active in ensuring that the level of ecological awareness within the community was raised.

Although economic benefits were perceived by the local community as beneficial, these benefits are mainly felt during a short period of time. For example, income generated from employment in the tourism sector is based on the work of an individual for a month. The rapid and positive economic impacts of the tourism industry were used as indicators of the benefits that tourism could provide to the local communities. Interestingly, in this study, social benefits were perceived by the local community as of equal or even greater significance than the economic benefits. Social benefits are often felt during a long-period of time, particularly when compared to economic impacts (GFSKI 1).

7.4 Intersectoral linkages

The coastal zone is a complex system where the land and the sea meet (Sorensen et al., 1984, Westmacott, 2002). This transition zone consists of a variety of resources and ecosystems that are able to support the livelihoods of local communities (Brown et al., 2002). For this reason, coastal areas have seen a rapid population growth which has caused over-exploitation and deterioration of coastal resources (Bryant et al., 1998, Cicin-Sain and Knecht, 1998).

In Mozambique, coastal tourism has been facing a rapid expansion. This particularly affects the areas where fishers are settled and use the reef for survival. In the face of the increased pressures in the coastal zone, the Government of Mozambique has promoted tourism as a strategy for economic development and poverty reduction (Strategic Plan for the Development of Tourism in Mozambique, 2004). Across the different case studies, the

relationship between the tourism and fisheries sector has generated both benefits and losses for the local community.

Fabinyi (2010) highlights that in the Philippines, tourism has generated benefits to the fisheries sector in terms of increased employment and a booster market for fish. In Tofo, Barra and Gala, there is a similar situation in terms of the benefits created by the interaction between tourism and fisheries. Nevertheless, the losses and conflicts that have arisen from this relationship are likely to negatively impact the fishers, the users of tourism activities as well as the local communities. The intensification of fishing as well as the rapid expansion of the tourism industry are two critical factors that may lead to the depletion of coastal and marine resources and increase conflict with fisheries. As an example, associated inflation on the prices of fish and seafood products negatively affects the local communities who, in both Barra and Tofo, have argued that they are only able to afford small fish because of the inflation on the fish prices. Arguably, fishers are harvesting small fish due to overexploitation of the reefs and because it is the only size that the local communities can afford to buy (See Figure 7.5).



Figure 7.4 Understanding the linkages between tourism and fisheries

The main conflict that is acknowledged particularly in Tofo and Barra consists of conflicts between the resorts and the fishers. Leach et al., (1999) have pointed out that conflicts over access are exacerbated when the resource that is the cause of the conflict becomes scarce. In Tofo and Barra, coastal land has been one of the major areas of conflict due to rapid and extensive tourism development that has displaced fishers from areas where they used to leave their boats.

In the face of these conflicts, there is increased recognition that the management of the coastal zone should shift from conflict management to a more integrated approach.

Integrated coastal management has emerged from the recognition of all the components of the coastal zone and associated economic activities that cannot be understood in isolation from one another (GESAMP, 1996). It is a process that acknowledges that character and value of the marine and coastal zones, interrelated uses of coastal land and marine ecosystems and the different environments these relationships can possibly affect (GESAMP, 1996). One of the main goals of integrated coastal management is to overcome conflicts in terms of resource allocation that are linked with sectoral management (Post and Lundin, 1996). In Tofo and Barra, one of the current conflicts is the decline in food security, associated with increased prices of fish due to tourism. This places pressure on local communities as their ability to meet their nutritional needs becomes increasingly strained.

Westmacott (2002) has pointed out that in the tropics, the conflicts that emerge in the coastal areas should be at the centre of management measures. Brugere (2006) has described that institutional failure or the lack of proper institutions for dealing with problems in the coastal zone is critical issues for understanding the conflicts over marine and coastal resources. In Tofo and in Barra, the institutions involved in the management of coastal and marine resources are weak. Although there has been a legal process of transferring decision-making and financial responsibilities from the state to lower levels of the government, in practice, this process has been inefficient. Additionally, there is little integration between the different sectors in managing common resources. Consequently, there is a lack of capacity to implement policies and programmes that reflect the needs and preferences of local people, fishers and the users of the tourism industry.

An integrated coastal management approach aims at promoting an allocation of natural resources that is equitable and sustainable in-between different stakeholders (Post and Lundin, 1996). Post and Lundin, (1996) argue that integrated coastal management provides a mechanism that aims at reducing or resolving potential conflicts that may emerge, not only through allocation of resources but also through the use of specific areas where the different activities can occur, and the selection and approval of permits and licenses. In Barra and Tofo, there is heavy usage and intense competition between different actors such as subsistence or artisanal reef fishers and sports and recreational users of the reef. In the Calamianes Islands in the Philippines, similar conflicts have emerged between fishers and divers (Fabinyi, 2008). This author suggests that the creation of marine protected areas in some areas in the Philippines provided benefits to both fishers and tourism-parties, however the livelihoods of other fishers were impacted in the process. Additionally, in the same area, resort developers were pressuring the local community for land on the coast, with little regard to compensation for the loss of coastal land (Fabinyi, 2008). In Tofo and Barra, the lack of appointed areas and resources for the fishing and diving activities is one of the main sources of conflict.

Additionally, the fisheries around the Tofo and Barra beaches are considered open access fisheries. Ostrom et al. (1994) has stated that open access occurs when there is an absence of well-defined property rights and therefore the resource is free and open to everyone. Although open-access fisheries have the power to benefit poor communities and uplift them from poverty as they provide sustenance, in the long terms it is likely to become over-exploited. In Mozambique, all the natural resources have been nationalized and consequently private property does not exist. According to Johnstone (2008:4), Mozambique is a country in transition from the “the traditional ownership system of rights to private rights, which are encouraged by outside interests to protect resources for conservation and to privatize them for tourism development”. Nevertheless, there are a number of processes by law that can secure the rights over natural resources and their use (See Chapter 4).

In the context of integrated coastal management, Burgere (2006) argue that when conflicts are minimised, there is a potential to enhance the benefits provided by the coastal zone as well as minimization of the losses associated with activities that are posed on the resource. In line with this thought, Bennett et al., (2001) has argued that conflict can be perceived as positive and negative. While conflicts often involve two groups, where one asserts its

interests at the cost of another, conflict is not always negative. Positive conflicts have been defined as the “means by which communities hold themselves together through establishing consensus within groups and also proof that society is adapting to a new political, economic or physical environment” (Coser, 1972, Powelson, 1972, Warner, 2000 cited by Bennett et al., 2001). In other words, conflict has a positive side where the government is encouraged to take actions and become more effective, chooses the right institutions and by overcoming small conflicts ensures that societies function efficiently.

7.5 Factors that hinder Benefit sharing

This study revealed that a diversity of factors that enable or hinder Benefit sharing. For the purpose of this study, three Benefit sharing mechanisms were examined and in this section the factors that enable and hinder benefits are analyzed for each. The results of this study indicate that NGOs play a critical role in the generation of benefits to the local communities, in the particular case of Gala. However, this project was unsustainable, despite the efforts made by Helvetas/Lupa to ensure the involvement of the local community at the different stages of planning and development of tourism, to enhance benefits to the local communities and to create sustainable solutions that conserve the cultural and ecological background of local communities. Reasons behind the failure of the implementation of Tinti Gala lodge include the fact that there was a lack of a business plan, lack of marketing strategies and lack of market linkages. Also, the local community became dependent on the NGO and once the funding agreement reached an end, the lodge started to deteriorate and as a consequence the number of tourists decreased. One of the main reasons for this situation can be ascribed to the low levels of education of the local community, as well as the frequent migrations of people to South Africa for long periods of time. In terms of constraints associated with the Tinti Gala lodge, the lack of experience of the people trained in this community and the low capacity of understanding of tourism by the NGO, the lack of capacity as well as lack of accountability and transparency of the members of the committee was some of the factors that in combination resulted in the failure of this project. However, although it has failed in Gala, the lessons learned from Tinti Gala lodge have been used to develop other community-based lodges in Mozambique (INGOKI1)

One of the main constraints of the private sector-community mechanism is the fact that the tourism committee is formed by individuals that have close social and informal relationships

with the people from Barra Resorts Group. For this reason, these members do not represent the community as a whole. Informal arrangements between the private sector and the local community have been described as a mechanism that facilitates the identification and implementation of benefits to the local community. Barra Resorts Group argues that the informal nature of their partnership with the community minimises outside pressures from local government officials or traditional structures to involve themselves in the redistribution of benefits to the local communities. Nevertheless, there are certain risks associated with these informal arrangements, particularly where benefits from interventions might be captured by local elite or in situations where centralized decision-making will block local participation.

The findings of this study have revealed that although people in Gala acknowledged that the government-community levy has provided significant benefits to the local community, in the wider tourism context, the government has faced a number of constraints. There are a number of factors that inhibit the benefits to flow into the communities. Weak institutions, particularly at the provincial level, created as a result of decentralization, lack capacity to monitor and ensure responsible and sustainable development of the tourism sector. In this context, these weak institutions have little power to gather information regarding the local communities, therefore decision-making almost never matches local realities. The lack of capacity of the State to resolve these issues exacerbates the conflicts and issues of the tourism sector as well as the conflicts between sectors, particularly when coastal and marine resources are at stake. The findings of this study revealed that political interference from government officials and high levels of corruption, particularly in the Inhambane province, have driven institutions to develop informal linkages in order to enhance benefits to the local community.

7.6 Conclusion

This study revealed three general findings. Firstly, Benefit sharing mechanisms lead to different outcomes that are dependent on institutional arrangements and their respective drives to enhance the benefits of local communities. Four classifications of responsibility that include economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic were used to analyze the benefit-sharing mechanisms. The three mechanisms were designed to benefit the local community; nevertheless none of the mechanisms was able to ensure that the four responsibilities were

fully met. In this context, the correction of imbalances of these mechanisms has the potential to maximise the impacts on the stakeholders and minimise its negative impact.

Secondly, the tourism sector has the power to produce monetary and non-monetary benefits and losses to local communities. Non-monetary impacts equate to, or in some cases, exceed the importance of monetary impacts. Although income is of high importance to the local community, empowerment, knowledge generation, and capacity development, among others were benefits that the local community placed the same or higher value upon. Benefit sharing mechanisms are likely to produce significant benefits that may outweigh the losses incurred by the tourism sector for local communities.

Finally, fisheries and tourism are two sectors that use coastal resources. The fisheries sector includes a diversity of intertidal and inshore resource harvesting and the tourism sector uses coastal land, beaches and coral reefs. These activities bring a range of economic, social and economic benefits to the local communities. These benefits are often paralleled with conflicts that emerge from the use of the same resources. An integrated management approach involving regulatory measures in the coastal zone is likely to enhance the benefits to both fisheries and tourism users while maintaining the health of the ecosystem.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary and key conclusions of the research undertaken. Previous chapters reviewed the literature related to the social, economic and ecological benefits and losses from tourism, tourism models such as ecotourism, community-based tourism and pro-poor tourism as well as the links between the tourism and the fisheries sector. Data was gathered in case study sites on socio-economic conditions, resource use, institutions, and Benefit sharing mechanisms in the three case studies were analyzed. The main purpose was to examine how local communities benefit from tourism, the losses they incur from tourism and the strategies that enhance benefits to local communities, with particular focus on social, economic and ecological dimensions. This was tackled by exploring different Benefit sharing mechanisms such as partnerships between the community and the private sector, partnerships between the community and NGO and between the community and a government-driven initiative in two communities (Gala and Conguiana). In the third community involved in this study, Josina Machel in Tofo, mechanisms to enhance benefits to the local communities were not present.

8.2 Mozambique and the sharing of benefits

A key question is the contribution of tourism to local communities and consequently its links to poverty reduction. In Mozambique, the current tourism model is associated with conventional mass tourism and little attention is paid to local communities. Despite the worldwide recognition of the importance of benefiting local communities, especially the poor and marginalized, tourism business owners lack momentum in terms of developing and implementing actions that will enhance benefits to the local community. Tofo is a case study that represents a microcosm of the current situation of the usual tourism in Mozambique. Arising from analysis of this case study is the finding that there is little government support for community tourism development, a lack of financial resources, experience and capacity to promote development from both national and local government, and high levels of foreign ownership with profits from tourism flowing to foreign countries. Additionally, there is

limited capacity within communities. Insecure land and resource tenure are also factors that hinder Benefit sharing from tourism.

PARPA, the integrated development plan for poverty reduction in Mozambique identified tourism as a main instrument for economic development and poverty reduction (Rylance, 2008). The reasons behind this choice involve the potential of Mozambique to attract foreign investment into areas such as Tofo and Barra; tourism being a labour intensive industry, therefore increasing employment at the local level; and the richness of the marine and coastal resources are assets that ensure comparative advantage to other destinations in Africa (Rylance, 2008). In theory, PARPA ensures a commitment to use tourism as a development strategy, however at the local level, particularly in areas such as Tofo, there are little or no government driven mechanisms in place to ensure benefits to the local community from tourism. Although the Land Law encourages agreements and negotiations between local communities and new investors in order to enhance benefits for both parties, there are no guidelines for the implementation of community benefit provisions and ensuring partnerships beyond the consultation phase. Thus this law has been largely ineffectual.

The lack of government mechanisms to enhance benefits to the communities is often associated with scarce financial resources. Additionally, in Mozambique, tourism is a new sector and the government has little experience of the operations at national and local level, therefore there is a lack of capacity to promote development at the different levels. At the local level, working conditions in the tourism sector are characterized by low pay, seasonal work and little opportunity for advancement. Lack of financial resources, training and inadequate basic and vocational skills are some of the factors that also hinder benefits at the local level (Spenceley and Rozga, 2007). Local people are often employed in low level jobs and this impedes their opportunity for wealth advancement (SNV Mozambique, 2006 cited by Rylance, 2008). Limited capacity within communities associated with low levels of education as well as a lack of understanding and awareness of their rights over resources is also critical factors that have an impact on the flow of benefits to communities.

Private and foreign investment has been a key factor in the development of tourism in Mozambique. The development of tourism through foreign investment includes 70% of the projects in Mozambique (McEwan, 2004 cited by Rylance, 2008). Investment by local entrepreneurs is minimal as borrowing money for investment in tourism is costly (Rylance,

2008). For this reason, most tourism establishments are mainly South-African owned. Foreign investments in Mozambique, consistent with global trends, can create losses to the local community as money gained through the tourism business established in Mozambique flows to a foreign country. For example, accommodation in Tofo is mostly paid into bank accounts in South Africa. So-called leakage, when the revenue generated by tourism in one country is lost to another country's economy is substantial in Mozambique (Rylance, 2008) and is therefore a barrier for enhanced benefits reaching poor communities.

Nevertheless, there are a few and isolated cases where local communities are benefiting more significantly from tourism such as the Barra Resorts Group partnership with the community as well as the partnership between Lupa and the local community.

8.3 The importance of monetary and non-monetary benefits

Tourism benefits, though benefit-sharing, have been realized under three main dimensions: economic, social and ecological. On the economic dimension, tourism has a potential positive impact particularly at the local level. Local communities receive earnings directly from employment and philanthropic actions as well as indirectly from selling and providing goods and services to the tourism sector. For example, in Barra, the impacts of philanthropy and the willingness of business owners to enhance benefits to the local communities has created economic growth and human development. In Gala, benefits were generated through tourism taxes and revenues from the community-based lodge that has generated small enterprises and infrastructural development in the community. Although the economic opportunities of tourism are often perceived of as the highest importance to local communities, the partnerships initiated in Gala and Barra have demonstrated that broader non-economic benefits can equate and in some cases exceed the importance of monetary benefits. These benefits include empowerment, social cohesion, knowledge generation, the sharing of power and decision-making, and enhanced access to basic services. Additionally, enhanced ecological awareness was identified as a key benefit from the different partnerships.

Overall, the models identified in Mozambique show benefits and little or no losses, therefore it is possible to infer that these models are positively impacting the local communities. In fact, where the models are not present, local communities tend to be negatively impacted by

the tourism sector and therefore the fragility of livelihoods of local communities is exacerbated.

8.4 Sharing of Coastal and Marine Resources

In Mozambique, coastal tourism has developed in a rapid and uncontrolled way. As a consequence, there is concentration and congestion of people, and an increase in the construction of lodges and holiday homes as well as related infrastructure and facilities. In certain areas, there has been a considerable decline in the agriculture and forest sector that poses major challenges such as shortages of resources like land and water, damage to coastal dunes and mangrove vegetation. A focus of this study was the linkages between tourism and small scale fisheries. Anthropogenic activities associated with the tourism sector as well as the fisheries sector have damaged the spawning and breeding grounds of fish populations. These activities combined with increased pressure from coastal tourism and higher demand for fish products has the potential to generate conflicts between different users as well as over-exploitation of coastal and marine resources. Although tourism provides a source of income for fisheries through the market for locally caught fish and seafood for the tourists and tourism establishments, the sustainability of the coastal and marine resources are at risk particularly in Tofo and Barra communities. Presently, regulatory measures have been identified by the Provincial Department of Fisheries; nevertheless these have not yet been implemented. Additionally, there are plans for the implementation of a marine protected area in Tofo, but this is driven mainly by conservation goals with little regard for the livelihoods of coastal fishers.

8.5 General conclusions and recommendations

Although there are a growing number of studies about tourism in Mozambique (Fiege et al., 2004, Ferrao, 2005, Johnstone, 2008 cited in Johnstone, 2011), it is clear that much still needs to be learned. In particular questions remain about how tourism can more effectively bring benefits to local communities in Mozambique.

Robust, representative, empowered and accountable institutions need to be in place in order to ensure good governance that is crucial for the alleviation of poverty, particularly in poor and marginalized areas. These institutions have to be accountable and transparent in order to

represent vulnerable groups in negotiations over resources. Trust between the different stakeholders is a key factor in enabling Benefit sharing.

Partnerships have to be developed in order to enhance benefits of tourism for local communities. Different actors, such as NGOs and the private sector have played a critical role in developing and implementing these partnerships. Promotion of these interventions is critical to unlock opportunities and promote sharing of benefits.

The government of Mozambique needs to be more proactive in the establishment of partnerships to enhance benefits to the local communities and ensure that there is a policy and legal framework for Benefit sharing that incorporates the coordination between the different sectors. Local communities need to participate strongly in the tourism sector. Conflicts associated with tourism development often arise from the fact that tourism establishments are not sensitive to local pressures and needs. Additionally, local communities need to be capacitated and aware of their rights in terms of access to the coast and its resources.

Reducing fishing efforts as well as involvement of fishers in integrated resource management has the potential to improve the sustainability of the coastal and marine resources. This could be achieved through the tourism sector, where there is encouragement to promote a non-extractive form of tourism in Tofo and Barra. Regulatory measures should be developed and agreed upon between the fisheries and tourism sector in order to ensure that ecological sustainability of fishery resources are improved whilst benefiting the local communities and the fishers.

Scientific knowledge about natural resources and its users is key to ensure a healthy ecosystem where the needs of the fisheries sector, the tourism sector and the wider community are able to be met.

8.6 Implications for future research

This research has contributed to our knowledge about the impacts of tourism on local communities. This is one of the first studies in Mozambique to investigate different mechanisms of enhancing benefits to the local community. The findings from this research

represent important steps towards understanding key issues relating to the future of tourism development in Mozambique

Although many studies have been done in order to understand the economic impact of tourism and the potential of this industry to alleviate poverty and to promote local development, there is a need for more distinct and complex approach to development in general, and Benefit sharing in particular.

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Chapter 9 References

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Appendix One

Calculations of sample sizes

In order to calculate the sample sizes for Tofo and Barra, Yamane's formula (1967) was used to determine the sample sizes of homesteads for the household surveys:

$$n = N \left[\frac{Nn Pn Qn}{N^2 D^2} + \frac{1}{N} \right]$$

where,

n = total number of homesteads sampled

N = total number of homesteads in Tofo and Barra

P = estimated proportion of behaviour in each group in each community

Q = 1/P

D = desired variance

In order to determine the total number of homesteads,

$$n = N \left[\frac{Nn Pn Qn}{N^2 D^2} + \frac{1}{N} \right]$$

$$n = 2288 (1514 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 + 774 \times 0.5 \times 0.5) / 2288^2 \times (0.0325)^2 + (1514 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 + 774 \times 0.5 \times 0.5)$$

$$n = 1307592 / 6100.9096$$

$$n = 214$$

In order to identify the total number of homesteads for each community, the following calculations are needed:

$$\text{Tofo} = 1514 / 2288 * 214 = 141$$

$$\text{Barra} = 774 / 2288 * 214 = 72$$

Appendix Two

Questionário (casa) nr ____

Análise dos benefícios sobre os recursos costeiros e os mecanismos de redistribuição de benefícios em países seleccionados da Região WIO

Nota para os pesquisadores

- [1] O respondente deste questionário deverá ser um USUÁRIO DO RECURSO e não precisa de ser obrigatoriamente o chefe da família ou casa
- [2] TODOS os usos dos recursos costeiros e benefícios devem ser explorados neste questionário
- [3] Apresente-se à pessoa que está a entrevistar (nome, apelido, instituição)
- [4] Pergunte ao respondente se ele lhe dará permissão para o uso da sua identidade ou se gostaria de se manter anónimo.
- [5] Informe o seu respondente que ele poderá optar por não responder a uma pergunta se esta o deixar desconfortável

SUMÁRIO DO PROJECTO (por favor descreva para o respondente):

O intuito desta pesquisa é desenvolver um entendimento sobre o uso dos recursos costeiros na região Ocidental do Oceano Índico, e também explorar os benefícios que são derivados desse uso. O objectivo-chave deste projecto é compreender as iniciativas currentes e abordagens que existem nas comunidades costeiras de modo a encorajar uma redistribuição equitativa dos benefícios. Para além disso, este projecto visa ainda identificar as estruturas institucionais e modalidades que existem dentro das comunidades de modo a possibilitar a redistribuição dos benefícios.

Data: _____ Nome do entrevistador: _____ entrevistado: _____

Informação de base

Localização do local do estudo

Região/Província _____ 2. Districto _____
3. Vila/Comunidade/Localidade _____ 4. Nome do Bairro/Sub-Localização _____

Informação sobre o Respondente

5. Género [1] Masculino [2] Feminino

Idade _____ (Anos exactos)

Estado civil [1] Solteiro/a [2] Casado/a [3] Divorciado/a [4] Viuvo/a
[5] Separado/a

Nível de educação do Respondente

- [1] Nenhuma educação Formal [5] Escolaridade secundária completa [Acabou a 12ª classe]
[2] Escolaridade primária incompleta [entre 1ª classe e 4ª classe] [6] Curso Técnico
[3] Escolaridade primária completa [Acabou a 6ª classe] [7] Universidade
[4] Escolaridade secundária incompleta [Entre a 7ª e a 11ª]

Ocupação do Respondente:

- [1] Empregado [1b] Se empregado, em que? _____
[2] Trabalha para si próprio [2b] Se sim, em que? _____
[3] Desempregado
[4] Pensionista [4b] Se pensionista, em que trabalhava antes? _____
[5] Adulto que vai a escola
[6] Other (qual e a ocupação?) _____

10. Onde é que nasceu?

- [1] Nesta vila
[2] Numa vila diferente, mas neste districto
[3] Fora do distrito mas dentro da Região/Província
[4] Fora da Região/Província
[5] Fora do País

À quanto tempo é que vive nesta vila _____ (em Anos)

Se você fosse para outra vila/comunidade/localidade, mencione a razão pela qual isto aconteceria? _____

Observações

Quantas casas existem dentro do seu domicílio familiar (homestead)? _____

Quantas famílias vivem dentro do seu domicílio familiar (homestead)? _____

Qual é o número total de quartos na sua habitação principal? _____

16. Qual é o PRINCIPAL material usado para as paredes e para o tecto da PRINCIPAL habitação? Observe e marque somente um dos seguintes

7. Paredes (marque um)		8. Telhado (marque um)	
Palhota (tijolos, argila, excremento)		Colmo	
Casbre temporário (plástico, cartão, contraplacado)		Ferro forjado	
Casbre permanente (ferro forjado, tijolos)		Telha	
Casa permanente (tijolos, blocos)			
Outros (especifique)			

1.4 Características do Lar e Renda da Família

17. Quantas pessoas vivem no seu agregado familiar? _____

18. Quantos adultos, maiores de 18, vivem no seu agregado familiar? _____

19. Quantas pessoas, menores de 18, vivem no seu agregado familiar? _____

20. Você é o “chefe” do seu agregado familiar? [1] Sim ou [2] Não _____

21. Se não, qual é a sua relação com o Chefe do Agregado Familiar? _____

22. Qual é a ocupação/emprego do Chefe do seu Agregado Familiar?

[1] Empregado [1b] Se empregado (aonde? O que?) _____

[2] Trabalha por conta própria [2b] Se trabalha por conta própria (por favor diga o que – p.e. Camponês, criador de

gado, agro-pastoril, pescador, taxista, dono de loja, etc) _____

[3] Desempregado

[4] Pensionista

[4b] Se era Pensionista, qual era a sua anterior ocupação _____

[5] Frequenta educação para adultos

[6] Outros (qual?) _____

23. Quanto é o seu rendimento mensal domiciliário (pensões, subsídios e outras fontes de rendimento inclusivo)

South Africa	Mocambique
[1] Less than R1000	[1] Menos de Mtn 1500
[2] R1001-R1700	[2] Mtn 1501 – Mtn 3000/=
[3] R1701-R3000	[3] Mtn 3001- Mtn 5000/=
[4] R3001-R7500	[4] Mtn 5001- Mtn10000/=
[5] R7501 or more	[5] Mtn 10001- Mtn 30000/=
	[6] Mtn 30000 or more /=

24. Que actividades neste momento contribuem para a sua renda mensal? Faça um círculo em TODAS as que se aplicam

[1] Venda de produtos marinhos

[2] Venda de culturas (frutas, vegetais)

[3] Venda de gado (galinha, bois, etc)

[4] Venda de madeira

[5] Emprego na industria turística (Especifique) _____

[6] Emprego na industria florestal (Especifique) _____

[7] Emprego na agricultura (Especifique) _____

[8] Emprego na industria pesqueira (Especifique) _____

[9] Emprego na industria de minas (Especifique) _____

[10] Emprego em outras actividades (Especifique) _____

[11] Pensão

[12] Subvenções (por favor especifique: ie: deficiência, criança) _____

[13] Outros (Especifique) _____

25. RANK a três actividades mais importantes em termos de renda mensal (1 = mais importante)? (Adicionar notas quando relevante)

[1] Venda de produtos marinhos

[2] Venda de culturas (frutas, vegetais)

[3] Venda de gado (galinha etc)

[4] Venda de madeira

[5] Emprego na industria turística (Qual?) _____

[6] Emprego na industria florestal (Qual?) _____

[8] Emprego na industria pesqueira (Qual?) _____

[9] Emprego na industria de minas (Qual?) _____

[10] Emprego em outras actividades (Qual?) _____

[11] Pensão

[12] Subvenções (ie: deficiência, criança) _____

[13] Outros (Especifique) _____

[7] Emprego na agricultura (Qual?) _____

26. A sua casa tem electricidade? [1] Sim [2] Não

27. Qual é a fonte de energia para cozinhar no seu lar? [Marque todas que se aplicam]

Electricidade	e. LPG gas
Energia solar	f. Biogás
Carvão	g. Lenha
Kerosene	h. Outros (Qual?) _____

28. Qual é a fonte de água POTÁVEL mais usada dentro da sua casa? Marque todas que se aplicarem.

- [1] Água canalizada dentro da sua casa/domicílio familiar
- [2] Canalização – única torneira no domicílio
- [3] Canalização – pública
- [4] Bomba manual/poço (Perfuração com bomba manual, equipado com bomba de poço raso)
- [5] Tanques que usam a água da chuva
- [6] Cartar água do rio/riacho
- [7] Uma barragem de água construída com uma saída para cartar água
- [8] Água estagnada (, piscina natural/tradicional, furos ou poços)
- [9] Poço aberto e desprotegido (poço tradicional)
- [10] Poço aberto mas protegido com um instrumento para trazer a água para cima
- [11] Outras fontes (especifique): _____

2. USO DE RECURSOS 2.1 UTILIZAÇÃO CONSUMPTIVA DO RECURSO

29. Que tipo de recursos naturais você usa? Especifique		30. Marque os TRÊS recursos mais importantes para si e para a sua família	31. Desde há quantos anos é que você colhe/apanha este recurso (em anos?)	32. Você tem alguma licença ou permissão para colher recursos naturais? 1) Sim 2) Não (Usar o código)	33. Desde os últimos 10 anos, os recursos M- Aumentaram ou S= Mantiveram-se? (Usar o código)	34. Houve alterações na maneira como você tem acesso ou beneficia destes recursos? 1) Sim 2) Não	34a. Se houve mudanças, por favor diga como ou quais é que foram estas?	35. Você usa o recurso A=Todo o ano, S= Durante algumas temporadas, O=Ocasionalmente? (Usar o código)	36. Para que é que você usa o recurso? (Especifique)	37. O que é que você faz com os recursos que você usa? Indique SIM ou Não e indique a percentagem se possível Se você vende, por favor indique a quem você vende – p.e Vizinho, vende a comunidade, vende a pessoas de fora, etc		
Recursos Naturais que você usa	Indique os nomes dos recursos que usa									Próprio Uso	Vende (Indique a quem vende)	Oferece
Produtos marinhos												
Produtos da floresta												
Minerais												
Agricultura												
Fauna Bravia												

3. BENEFÍCI REFERENTES AO USO DOS RECURSOS COSTEIROS

38. Enliste os recursos que você apanha/usa – acima referidos – e explique como é você/sua vida beneficia/m do uso destes recursos

RECURSO	COMO A SUA VIDA BENEFICIA

39. Alguma destas actividades/sectores teve impactos negativos na vossa vida?

Sector	Sim	Não	Se sim, explique porquê e/ou como
Apanha de recursos marinhos			
Apanha de productos florestais			
Agricultura			
Turismo			
Conservação			
Outros (Especifique)			

COMPREENDENDO ARRANJOS INSTITUCIONAIS EXISTENTES PARA A DISTRIBUIÇÃO DE BENEFÍCIOS DOS RECURSOS COSTEIROS

Recursos costeiros	40. Existe algum comité local ou grupo que toma decisões sobre o uso e acesso aos recursos?			41. Se SIM, você participa deste comité ou grupo?			42. Se SIM, você acredita que este comité ou grupo representa justamente as pessoas que usam os recursos costeiros?		
	Sim	Não	Não sei	Sim	Não	Não Sei	Sim	Não	Não sei
Marítimo									
Florestal									
Agricultura									
Turismo									
Conservação									
Outros									

5. Compreendendo a Tomada de Decisão dos Stakeholders (Partes Interessadas)

Sector	43. Em cada sector, qual é o stakeholder que você acha que tem MAIS PODER na tomada de decisões (ie 1. Indivíduos, 2. Grupo da comunidade, 3. Autoridades tradicionais, 4. Governo da vila, 5. Governo local/provincial, 6. Governo central, etc	44. Porquê?
Pesca		
Floresta		
Agricultura		
Turismo		
Conservação		

6. GOVERNO E REGRAS LOCAIS

Responda as seguintes questões referentes somente aos recursos que o respondente usa (por favor marque a resposta apropriada)

Especifique o recurso	45. Existem regras estipuladas pelo governo que dizem como é que as pessoas devem usar o recurso?			46. Você acha que estas regras são justas?				47. A comunidade local segue estas regras?				48. Existem outras regras (tradicionais) que são usadas?			
	Sim	Não	Não Sei	Sim sempre	Sim, as vezes	Não	Não Sei	Sim sempre	Sim, as vezes	Não	Não Sei	Sim sempre	Sim, as vezes	Não	Não Sei
Marinho															
Floretal															
Minas															
Agricultura															
Outros															

Por favor, tire notas se necessário (e.g. quando as regras forem mencionadas).

[illegible]

Appendix Three

Mozambique Key Informant Interviews

1. Government stakeholder

a) Provincial Directorate of Tourism

1. What is your role in relation to the management of the tourism sector?
2. What are the institutional arrangements for managing the tourism sector in the region (Inhambane) – and how do they fit into provincial and national level institutions?
3. In terms of tourism in your region, WHO benefits? To what extent do coastal communities benefit from the tourism sector? Explain.
4. Are there people who are ‘losing out’ as a result of the tourism sector in your region? In particular, what are the losses to coastal communities? Explain.
5. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate that local communities access, and benefit from, tourism activities? Are there blockages that stop communities from accessing/benefitting from tourism?
6. Are you aware of specific cases where there are positive or negative examples of coastal communities that are (or are *not*) *fairly* benefitting from marine resources? Why are these considered positive or negative?
7. Are you aware of conflicts between the tourism sector and fisheries sector? If yes, what are these conflicts? Who has the responsibility for resolving these conflicts and what is the process?
8. Are there any examples where fisheries and tourism stakeholders have collaborated to enhance benefits for both sectors (ie: measures to sustain fish stocks, fishers interacting with tourists, lodges provide market for fishers, etc)?
9. Are there any positive and negative implications that different sectors such as fisheries and agriculture have on the tourism industry? Explain.
10. What government requirements are there for foreign investors wanting to invest in tourism in Mozambique. What does government do to ensure that local communities are strongly involved in and benefit from these initiatives? What needs to be put in place to ensure that Mozambicans benefit more from tourism?
11. What is the nature of the relationship between government and communities in relation to tourism. What about between government and tourism operators?
12. Do you have district level: maps, reports, management or development plans in relation to tourism in this region? Can we have copies?
13. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to tourism in your region.
14. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing tourism and access to the coast for tourism development in this area.

b) Provincial Directorate of Fisheries/ IDPPE Extensionist

1. What is your role in relation to the management of the fisheries sector?
2. What are the institutional arrangements for artisanal fisheries management in the region – and how do they fit into provincial and national level institutions? Do traditional authorities play a role, local government, community based organisations?
3. Can you explain how the CCP operates and why these local level fishing committees were set up? Who initiated these and what role did (and does) government play in facilitating these organisations? Do you think they have an important role in managing artisanal fisheries? Explain why or why not.
4. In terms of artisanal fisheries in the area, WHO is benefitting from this sector? Who has the right to access resources? How are these rights allocated? Does this system work well and if not why not?
5. In terms of fisheries in the area, is there anyone who is ‘losing out’? Are there particular conflicts in terms of who can access resources? Are there people who could be benefitting *more but are not*? Explain the losses.
6. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate access to marine resources or ensure that coastal communities benefit from these resources? What are the *blockages* preventing access to resources and equitable Benefit sharing?
7. Are you aware of specific cases where there are positive or negative examples of coastal communities that are (or are *not*) *fairly* benefitting from marine resources? Why are these considered positive or negative?
8. Are you aware of conflicts between the tourism sector and fisheries sector? If yes, what are these conflicts? Who has the responsibility for resolving these conflicts and what is the process?
9. Are there any examples where fisheries and tourism stakeholders have collaborated to enhance benefits for both sectors (ie: measures to sustain fish stocks, fishers interacting with tourists, lodges provide market for fishers, etc)?
10. What is the nature of the relationship between government and artisanal fishers?
11. How satisfied are you with the level of cooperation between government and the artisanal fisheries sector? Why (examples?)
12. Do you have district level: maps, reports, management or development plans related to artisanal fisheries?
13. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to fisheries resource use and access in your region.
14. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use of fishery resources and access to fishery resources in this area.

(c) Provincial Directorate of Agriculture

1. What is your role in relation to the management of the agriculture sector? Does the mandate of your department only cover cultivated resources or does it also cover forest resources and wild resources like makuti, medicinal plants, etc [Mayra: I suspect NTFPs are administered by forestry in which case it will be important to have similar interview with forestry dept].
2. What are the institutional arrangements for managing the agriculture sector in the region (Maputo/Inhambane) – and how do they fit into provincial and national level institutions?

3. In this region, who benefits? To what extent are rural communities benefiting from the agriculture sector. Please explain.
4. On the other hand, what stops communities from benefiting more from this sector? Who is losing out from the agriculture sector? In your point of view, what are the losses that rural communities have incurred? Explain.
5. What is the contribution of the agriculture sector for the GGP of the province? Why is this so?
15. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate access to agricultural activities or ensure that coastal communities benefit from these activities? What are the *blockages* preventing access to agriculture and equitable Benefit sharing?
6. Are you aware of specific cases where there are positive or negative examples of coastal communities that are (or are *not*) *fairly* benefitting from agricultural activities? Why are these considered positive or negative?
7. Has the tourism boom impacted positively or negatively on agriculture in the province? If so how? Are you aware of conflicts between the tourism sector and the agricultural sector? If yes, what are these conflicts? Who has the responsibility for resolving these conflicts and what is the process?
8. Are there any issues regarding the management of land in the area? Too broad - delete
9. Too broad ... needs to be specific to agric, suggest delete
10. What is the nature of the relationship between government and small scale farmers? Are there any policies that are relevant to this sector that I need to be familiar with?
11. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to use of agric resources and access to these resources in your region.
12. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use of agric resources and access to these agric resources in this area.

2. Fisheries Stakeholders

(a) President of CCP

1. What is your role in relation to fisheries management in your area?
2. Can you explain how the CCP operates and why these local level fishing committees were set up? Who initiated these and what role did (and does) government play in facilitating these organisations? Do you think they have an important role in managing artisanal fisheries? Explain why or why not.
3. In terms of fisheries in the area, WHO is benefitting from this sector? Are marine resources available to everyone or are there permits in place? Who decides who gets access? Is this system working? If not why not?
4. Has access to marine resources changed over time for your community? How do you think communities in the Inhambane region are benefitting from marine resources?
5. In terms of fisheries in your area, is there anyone who is 'losing out'? Are there particular conflicts in terms of who can access resources? Are there people who could be benefitting more but are not? Explain the losses.

6. What is the role of the boat owners and buyers in the Inhambane region? What is the relationship between the fishers and the boat owners and buyers? Are there benefits and losses associated with these relationships?
7. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate access to marine resources or ensure that coastal communities benefit from these resources?
8. What are the *blockages* preventing access by small-scale fishers to fishery resources and other benefits?
9. Are you aware of conflicts between the tourism sector and fisheries sector? If yes, what are these conflicts? Who has the responsibility for resolving these conflicts and what is the process?
10. Are there any examples where fisheries and tourism stakeholders have collaborated to enhance benefits for both sectors (ie: measures to sustain fish stocks, fishers interacting with tourists, lodges provide market for fishers, etc)?
11. What is your relationship with government? How satisfied are you with the level of cooperation between government and the artisanal fisheries sector? Why (examples?)
12. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to fisheries resource use and access in your region.
13. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use of fisheries and access to fishery resources in this area.

(b) Head fishers in area

1. What is your role in relation to fisheries management in your area?
2. Can you explain how the CCP operates and why these local level fishing committees were set up? Who initiated these and what role did (and does) government play in facilitating these organisations? Do you think they have an important role in managing artisanal fisheries? Explain why or why not. Does the system work? If not why not?
3. In terms of fisheries in the area, WHO is benefitting from this sector? Are marine resources available to everyone or are there permits in place? Who decides who gets access?
4. Has access to marine resources changed over time for your community? How do you think your community is benefitting from marine resources?
5. In terms of fisheries at the local level (specific area like Tofo and Barra in Inhambane), is there anyone who is 'losing out'? Are there particular conflicts in terms of who can access resources? Are there people who could be benefitting more but are not? Explain the losses.
6. In your area, what is the role of the boat owners and buyers in your community? What is the relationship between the fishers and the boat owners and buyers? Are there benefits and losses associated with these relationships?
7. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate access to marine resources or ensure that coastal communities benefit from these resources?
8. What are the *blockages* preventing access to resources and other benefits?
9. Are you aware of conflicts between the tourism sector and fisheries sector? If yes, what are these conflicts? Who has the responsibility for resolving these conflicts and what is the process?

10. Are there any examples where fisheries and tourism stakeholders have collaborated to enhance benefits for both sectors (ie: measures to sustain fish stocks, fishers interacting with tourists, lodges provide market for fishers, etc)?
11. What is your relationship with government? How satisfied are you with the level of cooperation between government and the artisanal fisheries sector? Why (examples?)
12. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to fisheries resource use and access in your region.
13. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use and access of fishery resources in this area.

(c) Local buyer

1. What is your role in relation to fisheries resource use in the area?
2. In terms of fisheries in the area, WHO is benefitting from this sector? Are marine resources available to everyone or are there permits in place? Who decides who gets access?
3. Has access to marine resources changed over time for your community? How do you think the community is benefitting from marine resources?
4. In terms of fisheries in your area, is there anyone who is 'losing out'? Are there particular conflicts in terms of who can access resources? Are there people who could be benefitting more but are not? Explain the losses.
5. Describe your relationship with local fishers and boat owners.
6. Explain how fish-buying works in your area. Who do you sell the marine resources to? Do you sell within the area or do you have contacts with outside buyers? Do you have any contact with tourism-related businesses that provide a market for the fish? Does the system work? If not what are the problems?
7. What institutional arrangements are in place in order for you to liaise with fishers in the community? Do you interact at all with government? If so, how? Does this relationship work well?
8. Are there any conflicts of that you are aware of regarding the fisheries sector? What about conflicts with those in the tourism sector?
9. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate access to marine resources or ensure that coastal communities benefit from these resources?
10. What are the *blockages* that prevent local communities from getting more benefits from fisheries?
11. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to fishery resource use and access in the area.
12. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use and access of fishery resources in the area.

3. Tourism Stakeholders

a) NGOs involved with Tourism

1. What is your role in relation to the management of the tourism sector?
2. What is the role of your NGO within the community? What are the main drivers for the establishment of your NGO? Who benefits from the tourism sector in the areas in which you work? To what extent are communities benefiting from tourism in the area?
3. Are there any initiatives within the area that have been implemented to benefit the community through the tourism sector? If there are, what initiatives has your NGO implemented in the community? What lessons can be learned from these experiences to ensure communities benefit more from tourism?
4. Is anyone losing from tourism sector in the community? If yes, explain the losses. Are you aware of any conflicts within the community that are related to the tourism sector?
5. Based on your experiences, what has facilitated and what has obstructed benefit-sharing in the community in relation to tourism?
6. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate that local communities access, and benefit from, tourism activities?
7. Are you aware of specific cases where there are positive or negative examples of coastal communities that are (or are *not*) *fairly* benefitting from tourism? Why are these considered positive or negative?
8. Can you explain the nature of the relationship between the tourism sector and fisheries sector in the community? Do they work together or are they conflicting in terms of benefiting the community?
9. Are there any examples where fisheries and tourism stakeholders have collaborated to enhance benefits for both sectors (ie: measures to sustain fish stocks, fishers interacting with tourists, lodges provide market for fishers, etc)?
10. Are there any positive and negative implications that different sectors such as fisheries and agriculture have on the tourism industry? Explain.
11. What is the nature of the relationship between your NGO and the local communities? Are there people from the community that work with your NGO? If yes, how are they involved?
12. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to tourism and access to coastal resources for tourism in your region.
13. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing tourism and access to coastal resources for tourism in this area.

b) Owners/Managers of Lodges

1. When was your business established?
2. How would you describe the type of tourism you offer?
3. How important is the marine environment/coastal zone to your business?
4. What coastal resources do you promote for use by tourists? What are the associated activities related to these (ie: fishing, diving, sunbathing on beach, etc)?
5. To what extent do you interact with the local fisheries sector? Do you provide a market for fish?

6. Are you aware of conflicts between the tourism sector and fisheries sector? If yes, what are these conflicts? Who has the responsibility for resolving these conflicts and what is the process?
7. Are there any examples where fisheries and tourism stakeholders have collaborated to enhance benefits for both sectors (ie: measures to sustain fish stocks, fishers interacting with tourists, lodges provide market for fishers, etc)?
8. Who do you think should be benefitting from the tourism sector in your area? Who *actually* benefits? Do coastal *communities* benefit from the tourism sector? If so, how?
9. Are there people who are 'losing out' as a result of the tourism sector in your area? In particular, are there losses to coastal communities? If so, what are these?
10. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate that local communities access, and benefit from, tourism activities? If yes, how well are these implemented and what prevents communities from securing more benefits?
11. To what extent do you engage with the local communities living adjacent to tourism venture/lodge? Have you set up any informal or formal structures/institutions to facilitate this interaction?
12. Have you initiated any strategies to share the benefits of tourism with local communities? If so, what are these?
13. Based on your experience, have there been specific challenges or problems related to sharing benefits with the local communities?
14. Do you think it should be your responsibility to interact with local communities around your tourism activities? Why or why not?
15. How would you describe your relationship with:
 - People living in the adjacent community?
 - Government?
 - NGOs working in the area?
 - Other tourism establishments?
 - Diving operators?
 - Fishers?
16. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with in relation to communities that are affected by tourism activities.
17. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in ensuring benefits to your community from tourism.

c) Owners/Managers of Diving shops

1. When was your business established?
2. What is your role in relation to community engagement and ensuring that communities benefit from tourism?
3. Do you employ people from the community to work on your establishment? What kind of work? Part-/Full-time? Which communities? Talk about experience of employing locals.
4. What are the main roles and objectives of your establishment? What was the main driver for the establishment of the business?
5. How important is the marine environment/coastal zone to your business?
6. To what extent do you interact with the local fisheries sector?
7. Are you aware of conflicts between the tourism sector and fisheries sector? If yes, what are these conflicts? Who has the responsibility for resolving these conflicts and what is the process?

8. Are there any partnerships between diving shops and small scale fishers in order to enhance benefits for both parties? If yes, specify.
9. Who do you think should benefit from tourism sector in your area? Who *actually* benefits? Do coastal *communities* benefit from the tourism sector? If so, how?
10. Are there people who are 'losing out' as a result of the tourism sector in your area? In particular, are there losses to coastal communities? If so, what are these?
11. In terms of policies and laws, are there any that facilitate access and Benefit sharing in the area? Are you aware of any *blockages* to the way people access and benefit from tourism?
12. Do you think it should be your responsibility to interact with local communities around your tourism activities? Why or why not?
13. How would you describe the relationship between the your establishment and
 - people living in the adjacent community?
 - Government?
 - NGOs working in the area?
 - Other diving operators?
 - Lodges?
 - Fishers?
14. Are you aware of specific cases where there are positive or negative examples of equitable Benefit sharing in terms of diving tourism in local communities? Why are these considered positive or negative?
15. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with in relation to communities that take decisions relating to tourism activities and access to coastal resources for tourism.
16. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in ensuring benefits to your community from tourism and access to coastal resources for tourism.

d) People working at the market: FISH SELLERS

1. When was this market established?
2. When did you start trading at this market? What do you sell? Is this your only job (probe – try get a livelihood profile of what else they are doing)?
3. How do you get your fish/marine resources? Do you buy/sell fish from local fishermen or local fish market? Please describe the chain. Who mostly buys your fish?
4. Apart from the money you earn, what do you benefit from selling fish? Do you pay a fair price for the fish that you buy? Have you noticed a change in the fish you buy over the last 5-10 years (or less if they have only been there a few years)? Please explain.
5. Is tourism a good or bad thing for your fish stall?
6. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with in relation to the catching, buying and selling of fish.
7. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the catching, buying and selling on fish in this area.

e) For basket makers and macuti sellers

1. When was this market established?
2. When did you start trading at this market? What do you sell? Is this your only job (probe – try get a livelihood profile of what else they are doing)?
3. What material do you use for your baskets? How do you get this? [ie do you harvest it yourself or does someone else bring it – please describe the chain from harvesting through to sale] Who mostly buys your baskets?
4. Apart from the money you earn, how do you benefit from selling the baskets? Do you pay a fair price for the baskets that you buy? Have you noticed a change in the types of grasses that used to make baskets over the last 5-10 years (or less if they have only been there a few years)? Please explain. Probe ... to get idea of how much money made... if you can
5. Is tourism a good or bad thing for your basket stall?
6. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with in relation to the harvesting of grass, manufacture of basket and its retail.
7. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in relation to the harvesting of grass, manufacture of basket and its retail

4. Agriculture Stakeholders

a) Agriculture Extensionist (if any)

1. What is your role in relation to the management of the agriculture sector?
2. What is the name of the institution you are working for and how is this institution involved in the management of the agriculture sector?
3. What are the other institutional arrangements for managing the agriculture sector in the area?
4. In your region, who is benefiting? Do you think rural communities are benefiting from this sector? Explain.
13. In terms of agriculture in the area, who is losing out from the agriculture sector? In your point of view, what are the losses that rural communities have incurred? Explain.
16. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate access to agricultural activities or ensure that coastal communities benefit from these activities? What are the *blockages* preventing access to agriculture and equitable Benefit sharing?
14. Are you aware of specific cases where there are positive or negative examples of coastal communities that are (or are *not*) *fairly* benefitting from agricultural activities? Why are these considered positive or negative?
15. Are you aware of conflicts between the tourism sector and the agricultural sector? If yes, what are these conflicts? Who has the responsibility for resolving these conflicts and what is the process?
16. Are there any issues regarding the management of land in the area?
5. What is the nature of the relationship between government and farmers? List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to agric resource use and access in your region.

6. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use and access of agric resources in this area.

5. Conservation in Gala

a) Conservation authority

1. What is your role in relation to the management of the conservation sector?
2. What are the institutional arrangements for managing conservation in the region (Maputo/Inhambane)?
3. In your region, who benefits from conservation? To what extent are rural communities benefiting from the conservation sector?
4. In your point of view, who is “losing out” from conservation sector? Can you explain the losses with a specific focus on the losses for local communities?
5. In terms of conservation in the area, who has the right to access resources? How are rights allocated? Does the system work and if not why not?
6. Before the area was considered a Reserve, communities were living here. How were communities taken out of the land? Were there benefits from displacing communities? Can they still access forest and coastal resources inside the reserve?
7. What instruments such as policies and laws are in place in order to facilitate access and Benefit sharing of local communities from activities related to the conservation sector?
8. Are you aware of specific cases where there are positive or negative examples of equitable Benefit sharing in relation to conservation? Are you aware of conflicts between conservation and any other sector? At local level, who is in charge of resolving these conflicts and also explain the process through which conflicts are resolved.
9. What is the nature of the relationship between government and people that have access to the reserve?
10. In your point of view, did the reserve bring actual benefits for local communities? Who should benefit from having a reserve?
11. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to conservation and use and access to coastal resources in your region.
12. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing conservation the use and access of coastal resources in this area.

6. Other

a) Secretario

1. What is your role in the community as well as in relation to managing coastal resources?
2. Has the community’s access to coastal resources changed over the years? If so, how?
3. Describe your relationship with:
 - a. community leaders,
 - b. traditional authority and

- c. local government structures.
- Is there conflict or do you work together?
- 4. Can you explain ownership of land in the area and how it has impacted the community?
- 5. What benefits does the community derive from:
 - a. Tourism
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Fisheries
- 6. What losses (or negative impacts) have resulted in the community from:
 - a. Tourism
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Fisheries
- 7. Is there allocation of rights to access resources in these different sectors? Who allocates these rights? Does system work well – if not why not?
 - a. Tourism
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Fisheries
- 8. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate that local communities access, and benefit from, coastal resources?
- 9. What are the *blockages*?
- 10. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to coastal resource use and access in your community.
- 11. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use and access of coastal resources in your community.

b) Traditional Authority

- 1. What is your role and responsibility in the community as well as in relation to the management of coastal resources?
- 2. Has the community's access to coastal resources changed over the years? If so, how?
- 3. Describe your relationship with the:
 - a) Secretario of your area?
 - b) Local government structures
 - c) Community leaders
- Is there any type of cooperation or are there conflicts between you and these parties?
- 4. Can you explain ownership of land in the area and how it has impacted the community?
- 5. Who is in charge of giving land to communities? Who has the right to take land away from communities?
- 6. What benefits does the community derive from:
 - a. Tourism
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Fisheries
- 7. What losses (or negative impacts) have resulted in the community from:
 - a. Tourism
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Fisheries
- 8. Is there allocation of rights to access resources in these different sectors?

- a. Tourism
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Fisheries
9. What is the institutional arrangements put in place for external stakeholders to work with the community, i.e.
 - a. Commercial fisheries resources buyer
 - b. Other?
10. Are there policies or laws in place that facilitate that local communities access, and benefit from, tourism activities? What are the *blockages preventing communities from benefiting more*?
11. Are there traditional rules in place that determine who should gain access and how people should benefit from coastal resources? Do people follow these rules? If not, what happens?
12. Does the traditional authority play any role in conflict resolution?
13. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to coastal resource use and access in this community.
14. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use and access of coastal resources in this community.
15. Any observations regarding changes over the past 10 years as well as perspective if they were positive or negative?

(d) Traditional Healer

1. When did you become a traditional healer?
2. What is your role and responsibility in the community as well as in relation to the management of forest and coastal resources?
3. Is there a specific type of certification for traditional healers in Mozambique?
4. What types of plant / animal resources do you mainly use? Are these easy to find? If not why not? Does anything stop you from working as a healer?
5. Does everyone in the village / community consult you? How do you work with the clinic [in case of Inhambane]. In your region, who benefits from use of forest products? To what extent rural communities are benefiting from NTFPS?
6. How does tourism impact you and your practices? If you harvest medicinal plants inside the Reserve, how were rights allocated? Does this system work? Are you able to get what you need to practice as a healer?
7. Do you think rural communities benefit from your activities? How?
8. What is the nature of the relationship between you and:
 9. Local government structures
 10. Traditional authority
 11. Local health workers
12. In your point of view, has the fact that the region was considered a reserve brought actual benefits for local communities? Who should benefit from having a reserve?
13. List the people/organisations/institutions that you work with that take decisions in relation to forest resources / medicinal plants in your region.
14. Rank these people/organisations/institutions according to who you think have the most decision-making power in managing the use and access to forest resources in this area.

Appendix Four

Focus Group Plan (including methodology) in Gala, Barra and Tofo

1. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) Techniques

1.1 PRA introduction

Participatory Rural Appraisal or PRA describes a family of methods and approaches that enable local people to share enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act (Chambers, 1992). This method requires researchers to follow specific attitudes and behaviours such as showing respect towards interviewees, relaxed and not rushed way of communication, “handing over the stick” as well as being self-critically aware (Chambers, 1992). PRA has been used in a number of applications and more specifically in natural resource management such as agriculture, conservation, fisheries, wildlife, tourism and health and food security. PRA is a useful tool when looking at benefit-sharing as it is based on interdisciplinary, exploratory studies that heavily rely on the use of community interaction and indigenous or traditional knowledge (Poffenberger et al., 1992).

Regarding the implementation of PRA techniques, there are 11 main principles:

- **Learn from the community:** PRA is from, by and for the community. It is built on the recognition and belief of the norms, importance of traditional community knowledge and community’s ability to solve their own problems.
- **Outsiders (researchers, experts and officials) are facilitators; insiders (the community) are actors.** The outsider’s role is simply to facilitate instead of acting, teaching, counseling or researching. The idea is that outsiders learn from the community and let the members of the community occupy the main role in understanding the conditions of community.
- **Inter-learning and inter-sharing experiences with each other.** Knowledge and experience of the community and of the outsiders should complement each other in an equal way. PRA gives the opportunity for both parties to yield something better.
- **Relaxing and Informal.** The atmosphere where PRA activity is being conducted should be opened, informal and flexible so that community perceives the outsider as a friend instead of a stranger.

- **Involvement of all community groups.** PRA activity should include every class, men and women, rich, moderate to poor people, young and old, and representing as many villages as possible in order to prevent bias and gain support from the vast community
- **Respect differences.** Participants involved in PRA activity often come from diverse community (different classes or types), therefore different opinions may arise. It is important to promote respect between participants.
- **Triangulation.** Using a range of different PRA techniques to address different issues and identify the various types and sources of information.
- **Optimizing the results.** PRA techniques must optimize its activities through focusing on things that are most important with a conclusion that is as close as possible to being correct completely, although never completely correct.
- **Learning from mistakes.** PRA techniques consider committing mistakes normal as the important thing is not perfection in the implementation of the techniques but the best application according to the capacity, and learning from the errors/mistakes in order to improve future activities.
- **Practical orientation.** PRA orients to solving problems and program developing. It is therefore required sufficient and relevant information. Not every information or data has to be gathered and studied but optimum knowledge is needed.
- **Continuous.** PRA activities are not completed after the information/data has been collected. Community interests and problems are changing and shifting over time. PRA must therefore be completely comprehended by institutions and field executives.

1.2 Application of PRA techniques

PRA techniques are visual (shapes or illustrations) tools and techniques used as a media for community discussion on the conditions of themselves and their environment. These tools are collective **learning media** that may be used for literate or illiterate people. In this study, two PRA techniques were used namely timelines and venn diagrams.

The focus group in Gala will run as follows:

1. Prayer

2. Introduction (5 min)

- a. Facilitators stand in the front of the group and introduce themselves to the group, one by one. Then one of the Zulu speaking facilitators indicates that the team is from a University in South Africa and undertaking a study that seeks to understand how the community utilizes and benefits from coastal resources, and how those benefits are shared and distributed within the community. The facilitator also explains that the facilitators have obtained permission from the traditional authority to conduct this research and that the primary benefit to the community from the research is that government recommendations that can improve the way the community benefits from resources will be made with the findings from the research. The facilitator should also mention that a community feedback of the key findings from the research will take place towards the end of next year when the research is completed
- b. The facilitator asks each member from the group to tell us who they are and their role in the community
- c. Then the facilitators explain that this is a focus group meeting where we will be trying to understand how they as the community use coastal resources and the ways in which they benefit from the particular resource discussed with that group
- d. The facilitator should then explain that the facilitators would be drawing mostly from their experiences to understand the different dynamics around resource use and Benefit sharing
- e. Participants should be encouraged to participate and be told that no answer is wrong, so everyone's input is equally important
- f. Facilitator should announce the times for the tea break and lunch, so that people are aware
- g. Before the facilitator proceeds, they should ask if anyone from the group has any questions they would like to ask before the discussion commences

3. Defining benefits (30 minutes)

- a. The facilitator asks people in the focus to volunteer to define the word '**benefit**' in general. The facilitator should then ask the group to list different kinds of benefits (i.e. tangible and intangible) by giving examples. For instance, the facilitator asks the group, "Can you give examples of what you see as tangible/intangible benefits that you get from using this coastal resource".
- b. The facilitator should ask then group to list down the particular coastal resources that they harvest (e.g. harvesters would mention that they harvest specific resource, etc.)

- c. Based on the resources mentioned by the group and by their definition of the word 'benefit', the facilitator should then ask the group to name all the different kinds of benefits that they get from the coastal resource(s) they use (tangible and non tangible).
- d. This exercise will enable focus group participants and the facilitators to have a common understanding of the application of the term 'benefit'.

Timeline and ranking exercises (1h30 min.)

Timeline and Ranking Exercises	
<p><u>MATERIAL:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maps must be set in a high place where all the participants can see it • newsprint paper – writing notes • prestik/adhesive spray – to put the newsprint up • markers – to write on the newsprint • stickers with different figures – illustrative way • stickers with smiley and sad faces – illustration of benefits and losses • TAKE NOTES!!! 	<p><u>PROCEDURE</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The timeline activity will be based on various interventions that took place in the community over time in the particular sectors. The aim of the exercise is to understand the benefits and losses incurred by the communities through intervention/event/activity (dating from the earliest one to the latest one) from when it started until the present. Ranking of benefits and losses from each event takes place simultaneously.

TEA IS SERVED IN THE TRANSITION

4. Institutional Analysis (30 minutes)

- a. The facilitator explains that the different stakeholders should be named and ranked according to decision-making power (i.e. government, private sector, NGOs, community and other beneficiaries) involved in using or managing the resource; Ranking has to be done in a descending order where the stakeholder with more power holds number 1 and the biggest circle.
- b. Present the circle shapes to the group and explain to people that the largest circle = highest decision-making power to the smallest circle = little decision making power
- c. After all the stakeholders listed are assigned and written in the circle shapes, place one of the biggest ones in the centre, then for the following one, ask whether or not it interacts with the first stakeholder in terms of decision-making. Depending on the extent to which the group says the two groups influence each other in terms of decision-making, place the following circles close, far or in overlap with every subsequent circle depending on the ranking done initially
- d. Once all interactions are represented, take a symbol representing the group and ask the group how they interact with each stakeholder (i.e. how much influence in decision making does the group feel they have with each stakeholder). Place the symbol representing the group in overlap, near, or far with each stakeholder circle, depending on how much decision making

influence the group feels they have with each stakeholder (Note: use markers to illustrate links between stakeholders and the group symbol if symbols do not overlap)

Venn Diagram (30 min.)

Venn diagram	
<u>MATERIAL:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">•prepare 3 sets of circle shapes cut out from card boards (i.e. big, medium, and small)•markers•stickers•REMEMBER TO TAKE NOTES!!!!	<u>PROCEDURE</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">•The aim of this exercise is for understanding who are the stakeholders and beneficiaries of the resources in question (e.g. fisheries, forestry, tourism, etc.), the different levels of decision making power among stakeholders and the interaction of stakeholders in the sharing of benefits.

5. Closing (5 minutes)

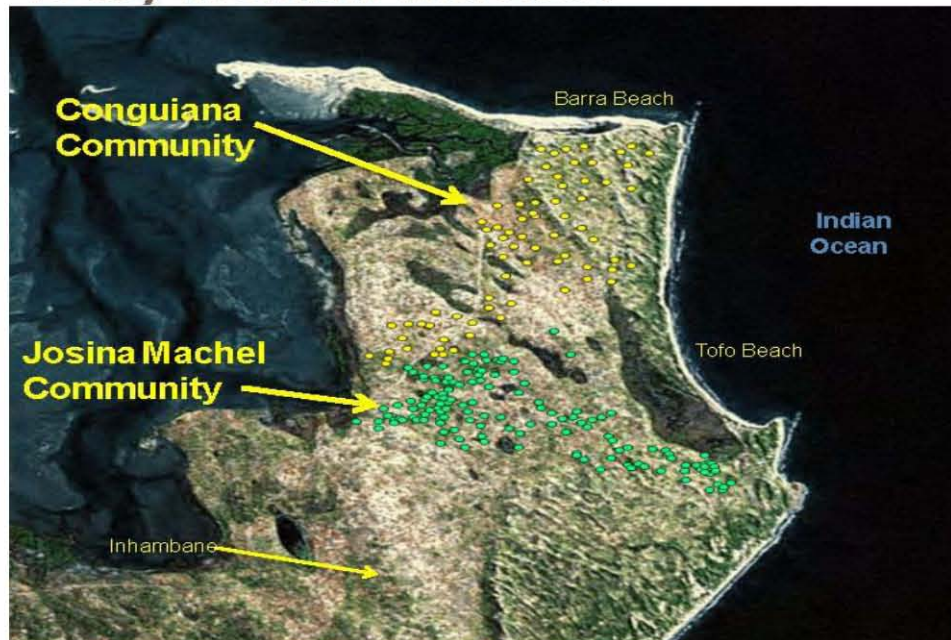
The facilitators announce that the focus group meeting has come to the end. Special thanks are given to the whole group for actively participating in the discussion. If anyone has any questions regarding to the issues discussed should not hesitate to ask any of the facilitators. Discussion ends with a closing prayer.

6. Refreshment are served!

Appendix Five

JOSINA MACHEL & CONGUIANA

212 household surveys, 17 focus groups,
19 key informant interviews



GALA

33 household surveys, 4 focus groups, 9
key informant interviews



Figure Appendix.1: Case study maps

Note: The dots on the maps represent the households surveyed.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is using another's work and to pretend that it is one's own.
2. I have used the American Psychological Association (APA) as the convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this thesis from the work, or works of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.
3. This thesis is my own work.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.
5. I acknowledge that copying someone else's assignment or essay, or part of it, is wrong, and declare that this is my own work.

Signature



A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Haykeir', is written over a horizontal line. The signature is cursive and stylized.

Date: 25.07.2011

University of Cape Town